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# Reports

—COMPRISING—

## THE SURVEY OF THE COOK COUNTY JAIL

MADE BY

THE CHICAGO COMMUNITY TRUST

AT THE REQUEST

OF

BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF COOK  
COUNTY, ILLINOIS

---

Director of the Survey: DR. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY,

Formerly Dean of the  
Columbia University Law School  
New York City.



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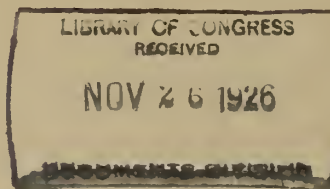
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Preambles and Resolution Adopted Unanimously by  
the Board of Commissioners of Cook County on  
Monday, January 16th, 1922

WHEREAS, the Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee, as authorized at a recent meeting of that body and the members of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, has appointed a Subcommittee on Site to suggest, after most careful inquiry, the most proper location for the proposed new County Jail and Criminal Court building, or buildings, and

WHEREAS, this Subcommittee finds that it will be exceedingly difficult to arrive at such a recommendation until decision is made as to just what judicial and governmental agencies shall be housed in the projected new structure, or structures; and

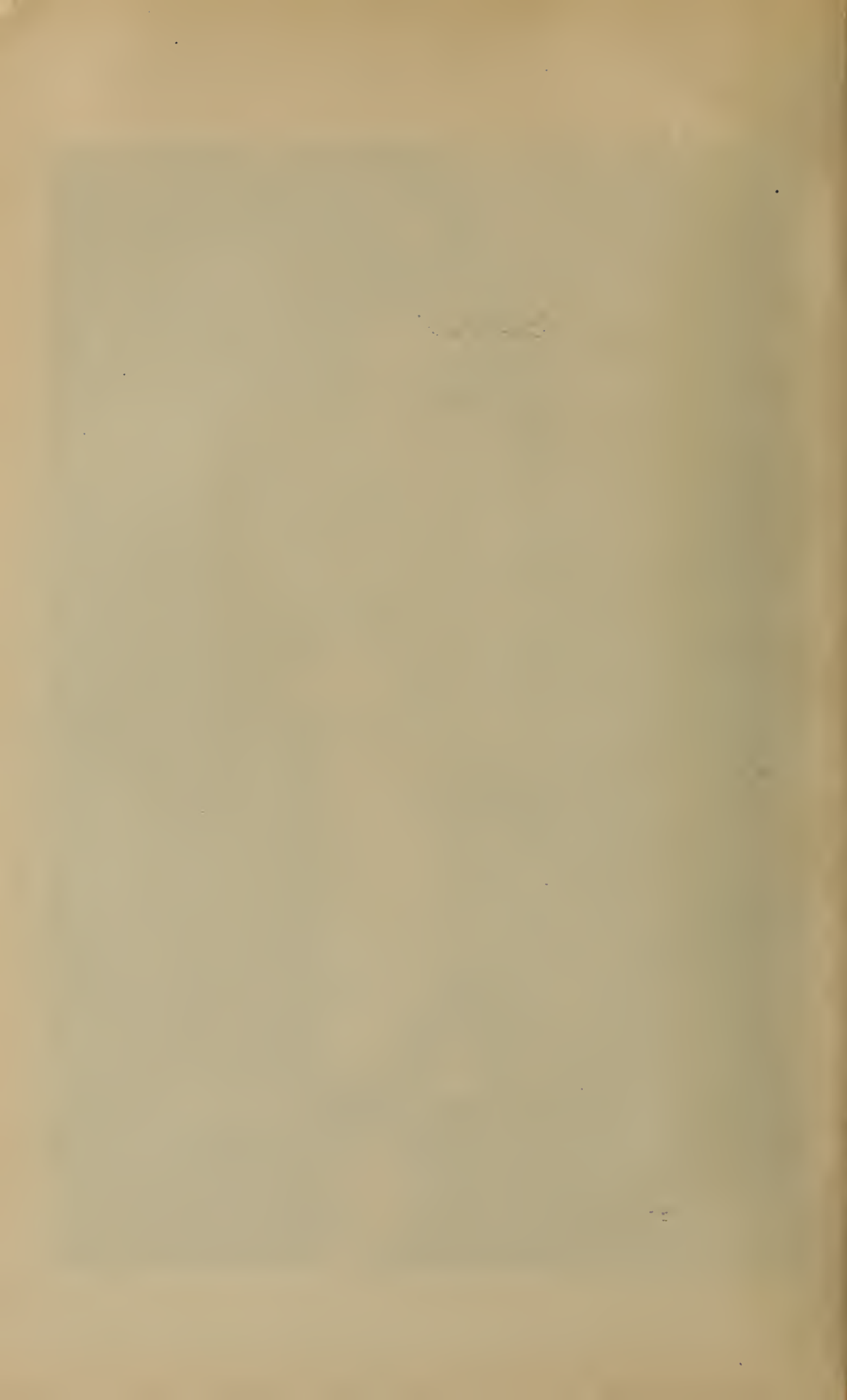
WHEREAS, the question of just what classes of prisoners shall be there incarcerated also should be determined, along with the problem of whether or not other provision than now is afforded can be made for certain classes of prisoners; and

WHEREAS, we are advised that the Chicago Community Trust is prepared to make, without any cost whatsoever to Cook County, a survey of the entire existing situation that might produce information and suggestions tending to solve these problems; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the Board of Commissioners of Cook County invites the Chicago Community Trust to enter upon such a survey, and to report its findings and recommendations as soon as possible to the President of this Board, it being understood that this generous service will be rendered without any cost to the County of Cook.



The "Bull-pen" in the "Old" Jail. (Flashlight photo by T. P. Burke)





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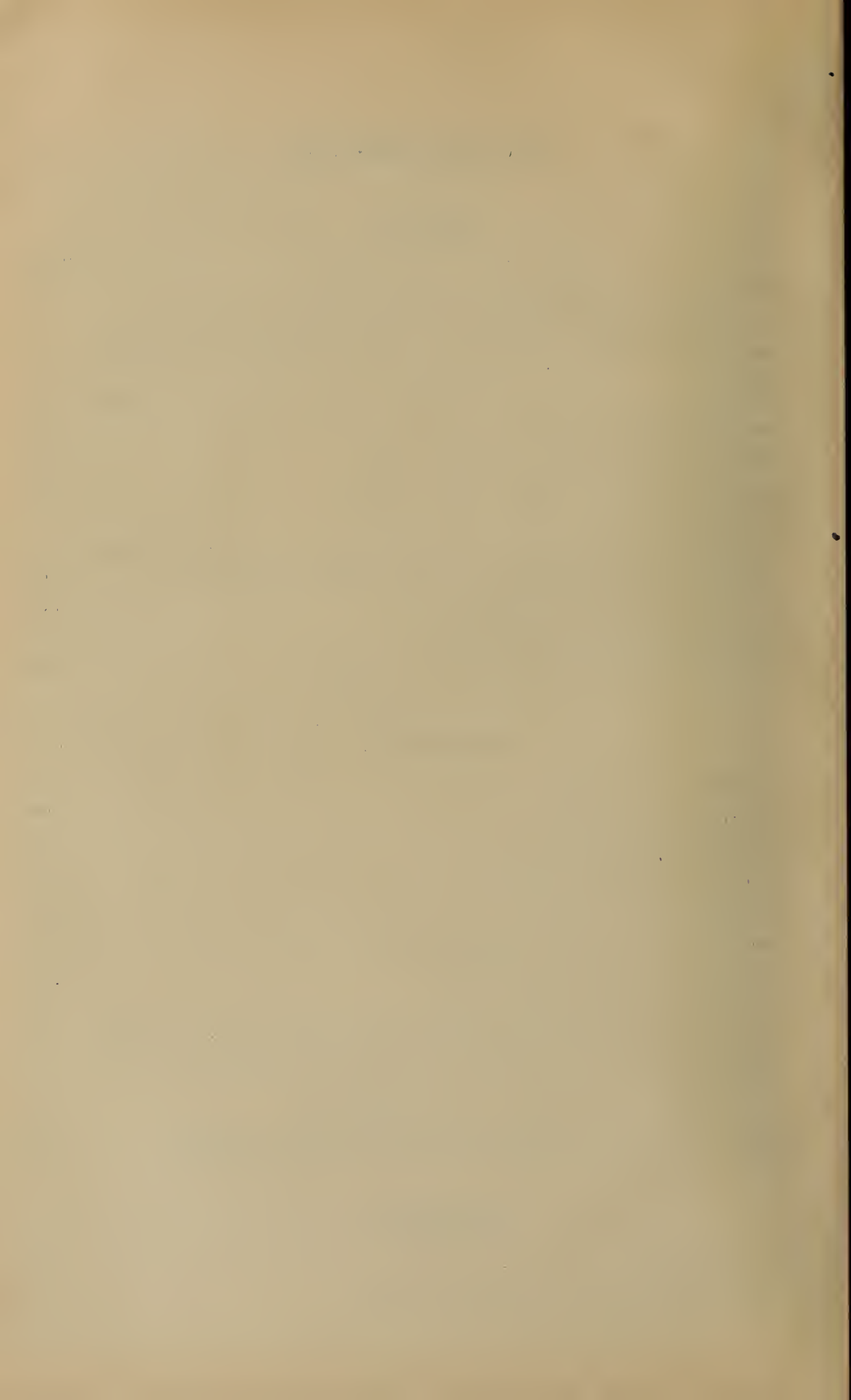
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Chicago, Monday, July 17, 1922.

TO THE HONORABLE, THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS  
OF COOK COUNTY.

GENTLEMEN: I transmit herewith the report of the survey of the Cook County Jail made by the Chicago Community Trust pursuant to the resolution adopted by your honorable body on January 16th, last. The report, which covers about 240 typewritten pages, is accompanied by a covering letter signed by the Hon. Bernard A. Eckhart, as vice-chairman of the Chicago Community Trust, and which I believe should be read.

Your honorable body will wish, I assume, to refer this report to the Citizens' Advisory Committee having to do with the proposed new County Jail. But, as an initial step, the report should be printed. This is essential so that it may be available for study by members of this Board, as well as by members of the committee mentioned. Such publication probably will be desirable in the official proceedings of this Board, as well as in pamphlet or book form.

I attach herewith a communication from Mr. Frank D. Loomis, Secretary of the Chicago Community Trust, outlining suggestions as to pamphlet or book publication. I would respectfully suggest that this phase of publication be referred to the Public Service Committee, but that meantime the report be ordered printed as a whole in the proceedings of this meeting of your honorable body, and that you formally authorize reference of the same to the Citizens' Advisory Committee.

Yours very truly,

DANIEL RYAN,  
President.

Chicago, July 10, 1922.

TO THE HONORABLE, THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS  
OF COOK COUNTY, CHICAGO, ILL.

GENTLEMEN: Pursuant to your resolution of January 16, 1922, requesting the Chicago Community Trust to make a survey of the Cook County Jail with the view of securing information and suggestions tending to solve the various problems arising out of the project of providing a new place of detention in place of the present jail, we have the honor to report that, having formally accepted your proposal on February 1, 1922, we promptly entered into correspondence with leading experts in various parts of the country and on February 10, secured the services of Mr. George W. Kirchwey, of New York City, formerly Dean of the Columbia University Law School, as Director of the Survey.

The report presented herewith has been prepared by various individuals under direction of Dr. Kirchwey and the general report summarizing all of the findings and presenting the general recommendations has been written by Dr. Kirchwey himself. In the entire course of the Survey he and his staff have had the friendly advice and assistance of specialists in this field. Earnest effort has been made to gather the real facts in the case. The Community Trust believes the work has been carefully and intelligently done.

In presenting this report for your consideration the Community Trust call your attention to the specific recommendations contained in the report, which may be summarized as follows:

1. The temporary expedients proposed for relieving the present overcrowding and disgraceful conditions in the county jail.
2. The recommendations for a separate detention home for women.
3. The recommendations for a separate detention home for boys.
4. The recommendations relating to a Central House of Detention for men, as distinguished from the ordinary jail.

We also recommend for consideration of the public at large the measures recommended in the report for restricting the jail population and reducing the period of detention.

The Community Trust desires to express its cordial and sincere appreciation of the co-operation of the many civic organizations and public spirited individuals whose contributions of service and advice have aided so materially in the furthering of this inquiry, and to express its thanks most earnestly to the County Commissioners and the members of Cook County's official family, including the Sheriff and his staff, and especially Capt. Wesley E. Westbrook, Warden of the County Jail, for the courtesies shown and assistance rendered.

If the Community Trust can be of any further service to you in this matter please do not hesitate to call on us.

Very truly yours,

THE CHICAGO COMMUNITY TRUST

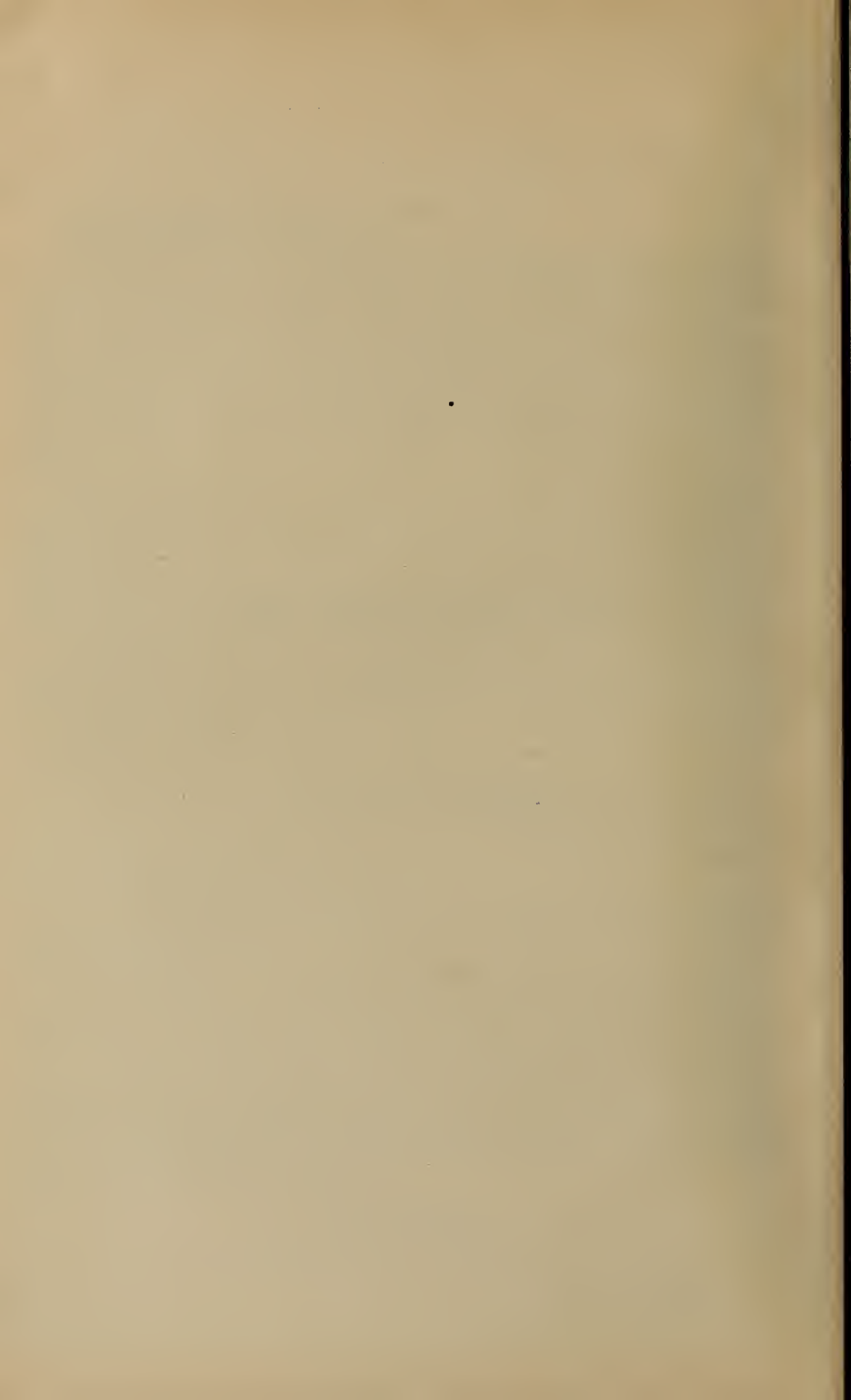
BERNARD A. ECKHART,  
Vice Chairman.

THE COOK COUNTY JAIL

A SURVEY

By

GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY



# The Cook County Jail Survey

## STATEMENT OF PLAN OF SURVEY

This survey, undertaken by the Chicago Community Trust at the request of the Board of Commissioners of Cook County, was determined in its plan and scope by the terms of the resolution authorizing it.

This resolution, adopted by the Board on January 16, 1922, invited "a survey of the entire existing situation" involved in the proposal for the erection of a new county jail and specified, as factors in that situation "the question of just what classes of prisoners shall be there incarcerated, along with the problem of whether or not other provision than is now afforded can be made for certain classes of prisoners."

It was to be a new kind of inquiry, one that should go to the root of the jail problem. It was recognized that the problem was fundamentally a social one. It was this aspect of it, this opportunity to put the jail in its true relation to the interest of the entire community, that made the invitation of the County Board sufficiently attractive to the Chicago Community Trust and to those whose cooperation it invited, to induce them to undertake the task.

Let me emphasize this point. The usual type of jail inquiry assumes a constant ratio between county and jail population and concerns itself almost wholly with such questions as the number, size and arrangement of cells and the location and architectural character of the building in which the cells are to be contained. Monumental jails of this character have recently been erected in several eastern cities of considerable size, structures that were obsolete before they were completed, which perpetuated all the rigidity, inflexibility and stupidity of the older buildings they had superseded.

The newer type of inquiry, which sees in the jail a problem to be solved, considers first the population to be confined and the purpose of the confinement. Instead of accepting the existing state of affairs, it raises troublesome questions. It wonders why so many men and women, boys and girls, of whom one-third will never be brought to trial, or, if tried, will be found innocent, should have been subjected to the infamy of imprisonment. It wonders why these unfortunates, whether innocent or guilty, should have been confined for many months, before the question of their guilt or innocence should be determined. It wonders what, in fact, these people are, who, to the number of 10,000 a year, are compelled to live for weeks and months under the shocking conditions of the Cook County jail — decent folk, for the most part, with a stake in the community, or the off-scouring, the refuse-heap of a great city?

Manifestly a survey of the scope of the one proposed could be accomplished only through the aid of a considerable body of expert workers and the cooperation of many interested civic bodies and public spirited individuals. This plan being adopted, the study at once took on the form of a community enterprise, as will appear from the list of cooperating committees and organizations set forth on the Plan of the Cook County Jail Survey which is given on the page following this statement.

On this plan the organization of the survey and the distribution of the various studies of which it was composed are also indicated. As there appears,



the Director of the Survey had as his immediate aids Mr. Frank D. Loomis, the Secretary of the Chicago Community Trust, Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, the Director of the Bureau of Surveys and Exhibits and an Advisory Committee of experts, headed by Professor Robert H. Gault of Northwestern University.

The research work, which resulted in the compilation of the mass of statistical material appearing in this report, was directed by Mrs. Rich, who was aided by groups of graduate students from the two universities.

A comprehensive study of the physical and living conditions of the present jail was made by Mr. Winthrop D. Lane, an accomplished penologist and student of jail conditions, of New York City.

The problem of the detention of the woman offender was thoroughly studied by Mrs. Rich, with the assistance of a group of specially qualified women.

A character study of the present jail population was made by Mr. A. L. Beeley, of the University of Chicago.

The health and medical conditions of the jail were studied by two eminent physicians of this city, Dr. R. B. Preble and Dr. Joseph L. Miller, and the diet and food conditions by a committee of the Chicago Dietetic Association, all of whom are experts in the feeding of the inmates of large institutions.

The confused and intermittent character of the jail records, which proved a serious handicap in the efforts of the Survey to secure the needed statistical information for this report, suggested the desirability of devising a more scientific and practical system of record-keeping. Accordingly Mrs. Rich and Mr. Beeley made a study of the problem, which resulted in the submission of the set of forms given in this report.

The obvious necessity of reducing the population confined in the present jail without waiting for the construction of a new jail, led to a study by Mr. John L. Whitman, the State Superintendent of Prisons and the present Acting-warden of the Penitentiary at Joliet, of the best methods of disposing of the surplus jail population. Mr. Whitman, it will be remembered, commenced his remarkably successful career as a prison administrator as an official and subsequently as Warden of the present jail.

The delays in the administration of criminal justice which are largely responsible for the congested condition of the county jail have been studied by a "Committee on the Administration of Criminal Justice" of the Chicago Bar Association.

Finally, supplementing Mrs. Rich's substantial study of the jail population, the survey has been fortunate enough to secure a valuable study of crime statistics in Chicago made by Professor Edith Abbott of Chicago University.

But perhaps the final word of recognition should be to an individual whose contribution does not appear in the plan above outlined. This is Mr. Nels Anderson, a graduate student in Chicago University, who, with an exceptional background of experience, had himself committed to the jail for the purpose of making a study of its human elements. Mr. Anderson made excellent use of his two weeks of incarceration and has submitted a valuable report of his findings and impressions.

All of these studies, with the exception of Mr. Anderson's, have been submitted in the form of special reports, which are incorporated herein, and these,

together, constitute the material which I have digested and summarized in the following report, though they have, in every case, been verified and supplemented by my personal observations. For this disinterested and highly efficient cooperation, and especially for the unfailing assistance rendered in every stage of the work by Mr. Frank D. Loomis and Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich of the Community Trust, I desire to express my deep gratitude.

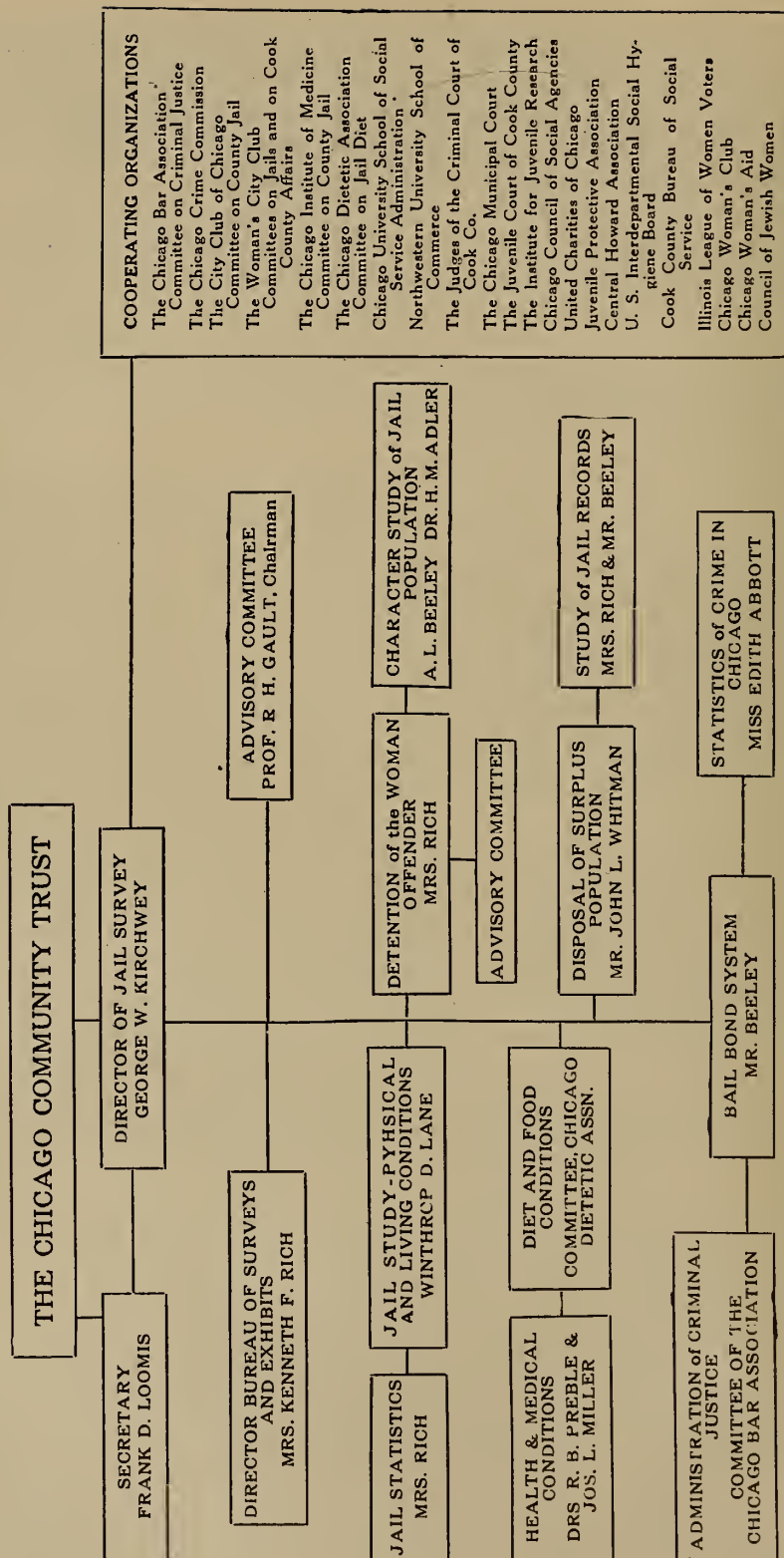
June 30, 1922

GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY.

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# Plan of the Cook County Jail Survey, Chicago, Ill.

Made at the request of the Board of County Commissioners



## ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON JAIL SURVEY

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Miss Jessie F. Binford  
Prof. E. W. Burgess  
Henry Berrett Chamberlin  
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## ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON WOMAN OFFENDER

Miss Edith Abbott  
Miss Lillian Adler  
Miss Jessie F. Binford  
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Miss Harriet J. Constock  
Mrs. Joseph S. Meyer  
Miss Harriet Vitum



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# THE COOK COUNTY JAIL

## A Survey

By GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

### 1. THE PROBLEM OF THE COUNTY JAIL

#### 1. THE PROBLEM STATED

The Cook County Jail is not a place of punishment. It is a place of detention for persons, innocent and guilty, who are under suspicion of having committed criminal offenses and who are unable to secure bail. Whatever the practice may be, that, at least, is the theory. This is the significant fact which furnishes the clue to any study of the jail problem. The question, therefore, is not, what is the approved or the socially desirable way in which to deal with convicted offenders, but a very different one, which may be put in this way: How far and in what ways may we rightfully restrain the liberty of those who have been accused of wrong-doing, until the question of their guilt or innocence has been lawfully determined?

The convicted offender is properly at the mercy and justice of the community; the accused person has a right to go about his own affairs, unmolested, except in so far as it may be necessary to restrain him in order to insure his appearance in court when wanted. The shoe is on the other foot. The burden of proof, of justification, is on the authorities for every day that such a person is unnecessarily confined, for every indignity or hardship that he is made to suffer while under confinement.

The Cook County Jail is not the only one that has disregarded these elementary considerations of human and civic rights. The truth is that the County Jail is the very worst feature of the American penal system—worse than the workhouse, worse than the penitentiary: Worse because more neglected, and, therefore, filthier, viler, more degraded and demoralized. Taking the country over, it is the least human of American institutions. Foreign authorities speak of it as the greatest blot on our penal system. Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, the Chairman of the English Prison Commission, who visited this country in connection with the International Prison Congress in 1910, found that our jails perpetuated many of the worst features of the jails of England and the continent which excited the reforming passion of John Howard in the 18th century. England has reformed her jails. Ours remain as they were.

If one asks why this is so, the answer, in a word, is "politics." Half a century ago the English jails were the private preserves of the sheriffs and other local authorities, as ours are now. They were a source of what an eminent New York politician once characterized as "honest graft," a form of illicit profit, winked at, if not shared, by the dominant political powers and tolerated by an indifferent community—as ours, for the most part, still are. In 1877 this whole vicious system was swept away in England by an act of Parliament and the jails nationalized and put under the control of the central government. This may prove to be the only way out, here as well as there, but it should not be necessary. There must be enough civic virtue and intelligence in a great local community like this, by its own initiative and out of its own

resources, to maintain a wise and humane system of detention for those of its members who are accused of crime. It is in this faith that this survey of the Cook County Jail has been undertaken.

But there is another and deeper reason why our American jail system stands unredeemed and that is the state of public opinion with respect to the jail population. The trouble is that we have stamped a criminal character on these places of detention by using them as a convenient dumping ground for the refuse of our society—the petty thieves, vagabonds, degenerates of all kinds by whom the byways of our cities and the highways of the country-side are infested. These are the “jail-birds,” and this is “the jail,” as it has come to be known. The stamp of low criminality thus put upon it has never been effaced, even where, as here in Chicago, a workhouse or Bridewell has been established in which to care for these petty offenders. Most of the 3000 county jails throughout the country still herd indiscriminately together the hobo, the convicted bootlegger, the drug addict, the petty crook who has spent a lifetime in such institutions, with boys having the bloom of innocence still on them and with professional thieves who are held for trial for new offenses. The Cook County Jail, with all these types within its walls, has just enough convicted offenders to keep alive the evil tradition that a jail is a place of punishment. Being a place of punishment for a few, it becomes and remains a place of punishment for all, irrespective of age, or guilt, or breeding, or character. It is a true democracy, with equally degrading conditions for all.

To these conditions, common to all, or nearly all, jails, the jail of Cook County has added a condition of overcrowding so serious as to intensify all the evils of the common jail and add new and more menacing ones. This is not a new situation for our jail to be in. It is, indeed, chronic. The older part of the present jail, erected in 1874 with individual cells for 136 persons, had by 1890 become so congested with four and often five prisoners to a cell, that public opinion forced the erection of the addition now known as the “New Jail,” in 1894-95. The 180 cells thus added to the capacity of the jail were all filled from the overflow of the old jail and the vicious “doubling-up” process began at once. It is now fashionable to measure the normal capacity of the jail by multiplying the number of cells by two; but this is absurd. No sane person builds cells for two persons. There are reasons for this which need not be gone into here but which every jail-builder knows.

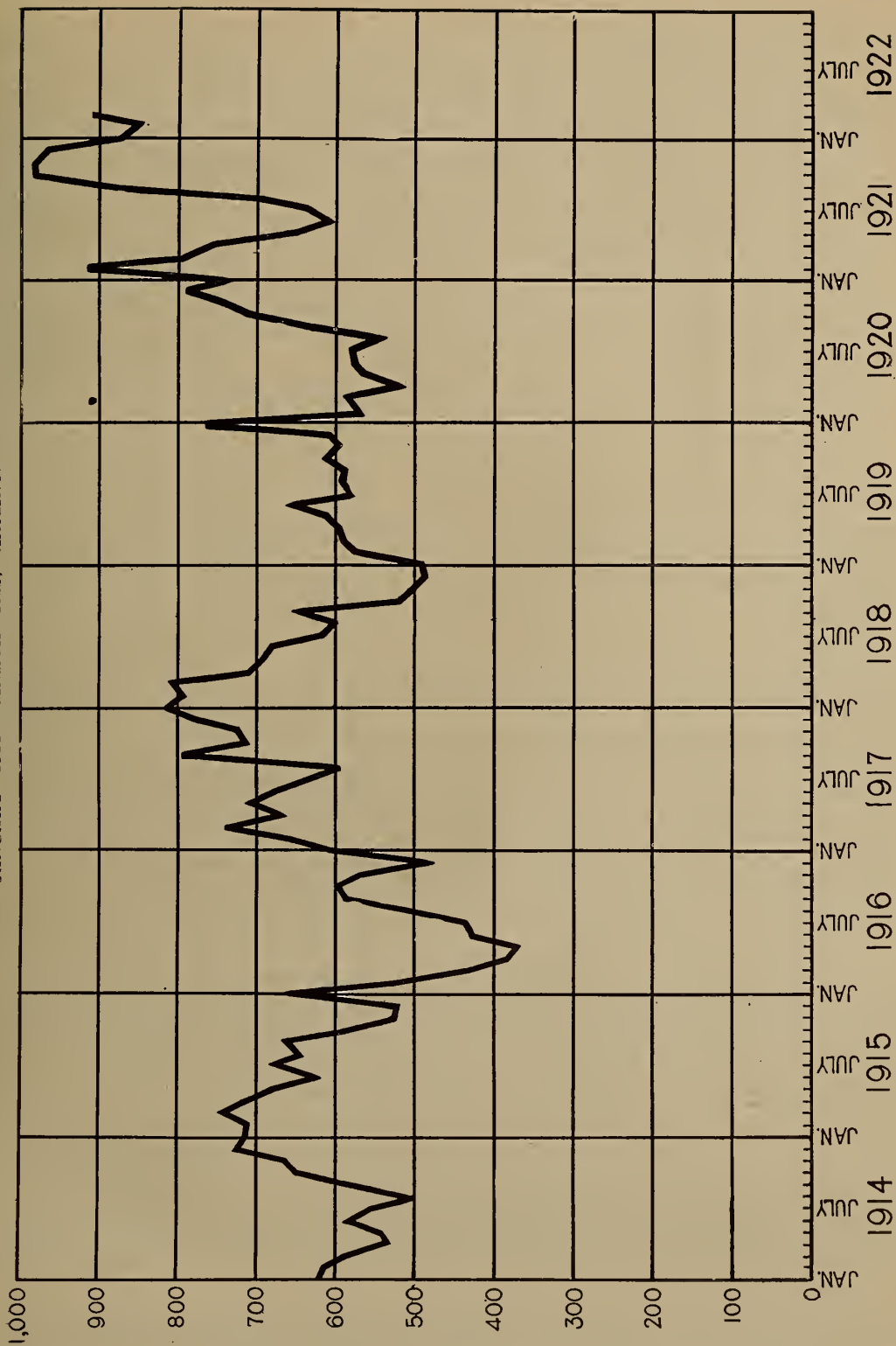
Thus the extraordinary growth of the city in population promptly nullified the efforts of the jail-builders and, it may be suspected, exhausted the interest of the community in a problem which had come to seem insoluble. The public interest, which had secured the enlargement of the jail in 1894, slept peacefully through the 20 years ensuing until the jail, with a normal capacity of 300, had a daily population of from 504 to 735.<sup>(1)</sup> In the intervening period of seven years, during which the electors of Cook County have four times voted down proposals for bond issues for a new jail, the daily population has further increased to the number of from 690 to 1013. While the maximum of 1000 and upwards was reached only ten days in the year 1921, there were 72 days when the population went above 950; 112 days when it exceeded 900; 195 days when it stood above 850; 293 days when it numbered upwards of 750; and 359 days

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(1) Of the total number of 316 cells, 36 are used for the women prisoners and 16 for service requirements, thus leaving 264 cells available for the confinement of the male population.



POPULATION OF THE COOK COUNTY JAIL ON THE FIRST MONDAY OF EACH MONTH.  
 (THE OPENING OF THE CRIMINAL COURT SESSION)  
 JANUARY 1914 — MARCH 1922, Inclusive.



when it went above 700. The minimum (690-699) was reached on only six days in July. Measured in terms of jail-life, what this means is that, when the population was at its lowest ebb, not less than 140 cells had three men in them, that for eight months of the year every one of the 264 cells had at least three inmates, and that for over six months four men were crowded into from 50 to 220 cells. In practice, of course, things didn't work out as smoothly as this. Some of the cells are necessarily reserved for single individuals—psychopathic cases or segregated cases of venereal disease—and it is this that necessitated the grotesque situation of herding five men in some cells at the height of the season last winter.<sup>(1)</sup>

It must be borne in mind that the statistics of daily population do not begin to measure the extent of the evil which results from these conditions of overcrowding. This can be better appreciated when it is understood that the jail population is a fluid one and that in 1921 as many as 10,642 men and women, boys and girls were subjected to these intolerable conditions for varying periods of weeks or months as the case might be. This represents the crest of the advancing tide thus far. If it should be thought that conditions have been exceptional during the past year of wide spread unemployment, it is only necessary to point to the figures of the annual jail population during the preceding era of war-time prosperity. Running back from the year 1921, the totals have been as follows: 1920, 8759; 1919, 8618; 1916, 9020; and 1914, 9657.<sup>(2)</sup>

What these conditions of overcrowding in the cells and bull-pens of the jail mean to the men and boys subjected to them are so fully set forth in the report of Winthrop D. Lane, Drs. R. B. Preble and Joseph L. Miller and John L. Whitman that they need not be recapitulated here. It might be said, indeed, that they have become so well known in general that no further reference to them is necessary. But while this is doubtless true of the authorities upon whom the responsibility directly rests, such as the County Board and the Sheriff, it is not at all certain that the community at large is sufficiently informed to have the alert sense of responsibility and that unalterable determination to abate the nuisance which are essential to the success of the present movement.

For this reason it has been deemed desirable to make a description of the jail and its living conditions a part of this report. The method employed has been the same as that set forth by a recent English writer who tells us that when John Howard set out to reform the gaols of eighteenth-century England, he convinced members of Parliament because he poured out, not a hot stream of denunciation, but a cold stream of statistics. "Instead of a sensational denunciation of oppression and cruelty, disease and promiscuity, Howard laid before the committee a detailed statement . . . of the exact fees taken by the gaolers, the cubic contents, window-space or depth below ground of each apartment, the number, sex, age, and grade of the prisoners confined together or apart, the exact kind of chain or irons used, the amount and quality

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(1) Table A-1, at the end of this report, gives the daily population for the four years, 1917-21. The graphic chart page 21) represents the rise and fall of population as recorded on the first Monday of each month from January 1914 to March, 1922.

(2) Table A-2 gives the figures by years during this period as far as obtainable.

of the food (or the absence of food) of the prisoners, and the state of the sewers and the water-supply.”(1)

Apart from the reference to chains and irons and to the underground dungeons, Howard's description of the English gaols might almost be reproduced in the account of the Cook County jail at the present time. There is the same disease-breeding filth and promiscuity, the same forced association of the young with the old, the clean-minded with the vicious and depraved; the same demoralizing idleness, the same neglect of the ordinary decencies of life. But to say these things is only to repeat in a feeblar way what has been said in language of eloquent denunciation by successive grand juries of Cook County in the reports of their official inspections during the last dozen years and by President Daniel Ryan and his recent predecessors of the Board of County Commissioners. (2)

## 2. THE JAIL POPULATION

### (1) GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Apart from the popular inertia or indifference which allows a situation to grow from bad to worse until it cracks (and the recent "riot" and other disturbances in the jail show only too clearly that the cracking point has been reached there), the perpetuation of these hoary abuses is doubtless due to serious misconceptions as to the character of the jail population. Having been taken up and committed to jail on a criminal charge, these subjects are assumed to be criminals and, being criminals, to be, all alike, desperadoes of the Tom O'Connor type. All jailed persons look alike to the ordinary virtuous citizen and all look equally dangerous. It is curious how the mere fact of a man's being admitted to bail operates as a suspension, or even a reversal, of this harsh judgment. In that case the legal presumption that a man is innocent until proven guilty is also the popular presumption, and this, notwithstanding the fact that in nearly all the cases (all in fact but cases of murder, which are very few in number) the only difference between the bailed and the jailed offender is that one had money enough to procure a bail-bond which the other lacked. Doubtless the character of the jail and the nature of the treatment to which the inmates are subjected have a good deal to do with this irrational attitude on the part of the public. Being subjected to the punishment of criminals and accepting that punishment, they are naturally taken to be criminals. When the breaking point is reached and a few of the prisoners rebel against this prison treatment, we have what the newspapers described as a "riot" and there is a beating-up of the offenders and a swift confirmation of the popular view as to the dangerous character of the jail population.

As a matter of fact the inmates of the jail differ as widely among themselves in character as they do in race or religion or occupation or in the color of their hair or eyes. As Mr. Lane points out, the only things they have in common are that they are awaiting their day in court and that they are too poor

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(1) *English Prisons Under Local Government*, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, London, 1922.

(2) See statement of Grand Jury, June 2, 1921: Annual Message of President of the Board of County Commissioners, 1921.



and friendless to secure bail. There are among them "bad" boys of 13, 14 and 15, held on charges of disorderly conduct, speeding or larceny, along with offenders of 50 and upwards charged with murder, rape, robbery and crimes against children; auto operators accused of intoxication or plain citizens charged with resisting an officer, along with confidence men and pickpockets. Of the total number held, a large number (anywhere from 20 to 30 per cent) are awaiting the disposition of their cases in the Municipal Court for all sorts of petty offenses, ranging from the more serious misdemeanors to the violation of city ordinances. Of the women, less than half are held on felony charges. And finally, to add to his riot of confused impressions, there are, with this vast majority of people held on unproven charges, a small but significant number of convicted offenders who have been committed to the jail to serve short sentences for minor offenses.

It is an incongruous company. Many of them are keen, alert, intelligent, humorous, kindly; a few are dull, sodden, with fishy eyes and the hang-dog look which jail life breeds. Take them out of jail into the busy street, and, but for the predonance of males, they would be but an average section of humanity, such as we pass and brush by during the crowded hours in the "Loop." It seems a safe guess that their characters vary as much as do those of the average city crowd. Perhaps more of them are guilty of crime than is the case in an equal number of men and women in the street, but that remains to be seen. They haven't been tried yet.

## (2) STATISTICAL DATA

Statistical information regarding the jail population for the period subsequent to the investigation made by the City Crime Committee, that is to say from 1914 to 1921, inclusive, and covering such facts as the sex, color, age, offense charged and final disposition of cases, is given in tables annexed to this report. It may be well to call attention here to the more significant facts thus disclosed.

### (a) SEX

Women and girls constitute a relatively small element in the annual jail population, ranging from 4.5 to 8.1 per cent of the total. The number involved is, however, considerable — 478 in 1921, 424 in 1920, 540 in 1919, rising to 730 in 1916 and to 635 in 1914.<sup>(1)</sup> It has not been possible to secure the figures for the intervening years (1915, 1917 and 1918) but, assuming the average of the five years given to have been maintained throughout the period of eight years, we have a total of 4488 women and girls who, during that time, for weeks or months, perhaps for many months at a stretch, lived the kind of life that the Cook County jail affords. What this means, how barren and demoralizing that life is, how far short it falls of the possibilities of reconstructive treatment for the girls and women involved in this web of delinquency has been convincingly set forth in the report of Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich on the detention of the woman offender, which is appended to this report.

### (b) COLOR

The colored population is also a relatively small element, certainly not enough

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(1) Table A-2.



to constitute it a separate problem. Its number in the period under consideration ranged from 1212 in 1914 to 1866 in 1921, or from 12.5 to 17.5 per cent of the annual population. For the most part the colored prisoners occupy separate tiers of cells and use separate bull-pens, but there is no evidence of any official discrimination against them and they are no more miserable and discontented than the white prisoners. Their quarters are as bad and their food and medical care no worse.<sup>(1)</sup>

### (c) AGE

It is when we come to analyze the age statistics of the jail population that our real problem comes into view. It is a commonplace that criminality is a malady of youth, a fact which is demonstrated by the comparative infrequency of old convicts in a prison population. The recklessness and lack of sense of social responsibility characteristic of boyhood are too often, through want of judicious restraint and guidance or because of retarded development, carried on through the turbulent years of adolescence and beyond. So we need not be surprised, though we may well be appalled, by the large proportion of boys and young men who are held in jail to await trial on criminal charges.<sup>(1)</sup>

### Boys

Of the 10,642 persons confined in the Cook County jail last year, 2214 or 20.8 per cent were boys in the accepted sense of that term, having been under 21 years of age. In 1920 the number was 24.2 per cent (2119 out of 8759) and in 1919 it was 25.5 per cent (2197 out of 8618). The lowest percentage reached, 17.6 per cent, was in 1914 (1703 out of 9657) and the next lowest in 1916, 17.8 per cent (1609 out of 9020).

Of the boys held in 1921 as many as 82 were of Juvenile Court age—one being only 13, two 14, eight 15 and the rest (71) 16 years old. It does not appear who was responsible for committing a boy of 13 to the county jail for "safe keeping," or two boys of 14 for "disorderly conduct" and "larceny," respectively. The offenses charged against the others, who were 15 and 16 years of age, covered a wide range from one case of murder (age 15) to 17 of burglary and 19 of larceny. Ten of them had nothing against them but "disorderly conduct."<sup>(2)</sup>

The offenses charged against the whole group of boys under 21 run the entire gamut from the technical violation of a municipal ordinance to the most serious crimes. Totals vary in the jail records, but of the 2134 reported for the calendar year, 1921, cases of larceny ranked first with 512, or 24 per cent; burglary next, with 455, or 21.3 per cent, and robbery next, with 296 or 13.8 per cent. Murder claimed 13, assault to kill, 15; and rape, 28. By far the largest single item is the aggregate compounded of misdemeanors and "miscellaneous," numbering 632 and amounting to 30 per cent of all offenses charged.<sup>(3)</sup>

It is a significant fact that the boys are relatively more frequently held for larceny, robbery and burglary than are the more mature offenders, the ratio for the adult jail population in 1921 with respect to those crimes being 14

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(1) Table A-2.

(2) Table A-3.

(3) Table A-4.

per cent for larceny (boys 24), 9.4 per cent for burglary (boys 21.3), and 9.1 per cent for robbery (boys 13.8). Or, to put it in another way, the boys of 20 and under, while constituting, in 1921, say, one-fifth (20.8) per cent) of the total jail population, represented 36 per cent of the burglaries, 27.2 per cent of the robberies and 34 per cent of the larcenies charged; in 1920, being 24.2 per cent of the total population, they were again charged with 36 per cent of the burglaries, with 32.2 per cent of the robberies and 34 per cent of the larcenies; in 1916, when they represented only 17.6 per cent of the total number in the jail, their record of charges was as follows: Burglary 33.4 per cent; robbery 30 per cent; and larceny 24 per cent; in 1914, being 16.3 per cent of the population, the record reads: Burglary 35 per cent; robbery 23.5 per cent; larceny 19.2 per cent.

Appalling as these figures are, they give clear indications as to the real nature of the jail problem. While many of those boys may be innocent of the offenses charged, they are, most of them, in the twilight zone which borders on the criminal life. Thrown into intimate contact with older and more hardened offenders, left to the drift of circumstance without let or hindrance, discouraged and embittered by the treatment they receive at the hands of the authorities, with nothing done or attempted to fire them with new resolution or endow them with new strength for the struggle before them, the commitment to jail is in many cases only a sentence to a life of crime.

In concluding this record of the boys in jail, let it be noted, as a mitigating fact, that the contribution of the boys to the more serious charges of murder and assault to kill is relatively insignificant. Only one-half of one per cent of the boys are held on the charge of murder, while 1.7 per cent of the adults are charged with that crime. For assault to kill the percentages are .06 and 2.7 respectively.

#### YOUNG MEN

By far the largest of the age-groups in the jail is made up of older boys and young men, ranging in age from 21 to 30 years. These numbered 4337 in 1921, being 40.8 per cent of the total population for that year, while in 1914 they reached the figure of 4517, 46.8 per cent of the total for one year. In the intervening period the number of this group ranged from 39.5 to 44.2 per cent, thus indicating that it was a constant, as well as an important factor numerically in the jail population.(1)

It is not too much to say that in this group, by virtue of its youth, as well as its size, we have the crux of the jail problem. Numbering well on toward half of the entire jail population (together with the boys under 21, they make up 62 per cent of the whole), they yet belong to the class which in most of our States is regarded as reformable and for whom specialized institutions of a reformatory character are provided. It has not been possible to ascertain from the jail records how the numbers run in the ages between 21 and 30, but it is estimated that a clear majority of them are under 25. As we shall see hereafter a large proportion will ultimately be discharged for lack of evidence against them or will be found not guilty of the offenses charged. Many of them are innocent of any wrong doing and most of those that will be found guilty are first offenders. It is upon such as these, as well as upon the boys under 21, that the blight of jail life falls most disastrously. If the jail is not a prison for

(1) Table A-2.

criminals, it is certainly the gateway to the criminal life. This is the place, in this motley gathering of the innocent and the depraved, where virtue is tarnished and vicious tendencies confirmed, and it is here that the opportunity presents itself, for the last time perhaps, to turn back this tide of human derelicts into the ways of decent and honorable living.

#### OLDER GROUPS

The remaining age groups in the jail population can be summarily disposed of. The records arrange them by decades. Those 31 to 40 years of age; those from 41 to 50, and those over 50.<sup>(1)</sup> The last are a pathetic but otherwise unimportant element, constituting, as they do, only four or five per cent of the annual population. They reached their maximum of 514 last year. The 41-50 group is also inconsiderable in size, ranging in recent years from 8.8 to 11.7 per cent of the total population. Its maximum was attained in 1921 (1035) and in 1918 (1056). The remaining group of 31 to 40 years of age is of considerable size, having reached its highest point, 2534, 23 per cent of the total population, in 1921. During the immediately preceding years it has varied from 1901 in 1916, to 2100 in 1914. There is nothing distinctive about this part of the prison population except its greater maturity. Like the other groups it is made up of all sorts and conditions of men and women. Whether innocent or guilty, decent or vicious, they have, for the most part, found themselves. Under proper conditions of living, whether in jail or outside, they can usually be trusted to choose their own friends and companions. Special protection, such as may be demanded for women and girls and for boys and young men of impressionable years, is not obviously required for these more mature characters, except in cases where mental or physical defects or disease puts them in the dependent class of jail inmates.

#### (d) PREVIOUS RECORD

There is nothing more important in a study of this kind than the previous criminal record of those against whom charges of delinquency are pending, and, so far as the population of the Cook County Jail is concerned, there is nothing harder to get at. The only source of information on this point is the statement made by those committed on entering the jail, the lack of finger-print records or of any systematic method of identification making it impossible to verify these statements. In the few cases where court records exist, no attempt is made by the jail authorities to utilize them. The "frequency" figures taken from the jail records, must, therefore, be taken with more than a grain of allowance.<sup>(2)</sup>

It is of importance to note, however, that the term "offender," as here employed, signifies "arrested," not "convicted." A first offender is one who has never been in trouble before; a second offender, one who has once been arrested. A "second offender" may, therefore, be one who is twice innocent.

From the reports thus obtained, it appears that those claiming to be first offenders outnumber all the others combined, the ratio varying widely from 71.9 per cent in 1914 to 54.8 per cent in 1916, and from 50 per cent in 1919, to 62.3 in 1920. In 1921 the number was 5969 out of a total population of 10,638,

(1) Table A-2.

(2) Table A-4.



or 59 per cent. In the same year, the second offenders numbered 2660, or 25.3 per cent of the total population, while in 1914 these were only 14.3 per cent and in 1920, 13.5 of the whole.

Third and more frequent offenders aggregated 2009 in 1921, 18.9 per cent of the jail population, and varied from 13.8 per cent in 1914 to 23.4 in 1916; 24.9 in 1919, and 24.2 in 1920.

There is a certain corroboration of these figures in the fact that they show the largest proportion of first offenders as occurring in the years of acute industrial depression and unemployment (1914 and 1920-21), where we should expect to find them.

In the matter of previous arrests the women show up better than the men, 323 out of 479, or 67.5 per cent, being registered as arrested for the first time in 1921, 359 out of 540, or 66.5 per cent, in 1919, 61.3 per cent in 1916 and 69 per cent in 1914.

The figures for boys under 21 show a greater variation, the percentage of first offenders ranging from 50 in 1919, to 60 in 1921, and 74 in 1914.<sup>(1)</sup> It seems probable that in this case, as in that of the general jail population, the coincidence of hard times with high prices is chiefly responsible for the marked increase in the percentage of first offenders in the year 1914-1915, and 1920-1921.

For the younger boys of juvenile court age, in the jail, only the figures for 1921 are available.<sup>(2)</sup> These indicate that, of the total number of 82, 62, or 75.6 per cent, had never previously been arrested, and 15, or 18.3 per cent, had once before been in trouble. Two boys, both 15 years of age, confessed to two previous arrests and two more, of the same age, to three previous arrests.

The mental picture of the jail population that we are gradually building up necessitates our viewing it from many angles. Here is a view not to be neglected when we come to sum up our impressions: A thousand boys and girls, youths of both sexes, men and women, a large proportion of whom, possibly 60 to 75 per cent, have never been in trouble before.

#### (e) DISPOSITION OF CASES

##### THE INNOCENT

It is when we come to statistics of the disposition made of jail cases that the real tragedy of the situation is disclosed. More than one-third of this mass of unfortunates, after weeks and months of the unwholesome and degrading contacts and the unspeakable living conditions of the jail, are found to have been innocent of the offenses charged. There is "nothing against them," nothing at least that justifies a verdict of "guilty," in many cases nothing to justify bringing them to trial. There are no records which make it possible to give accurate figures by years, but a study of the population of a given date<sup>(3)</sup> shows that of the 807 inmates of the jail on December 1, 1920, 139 were discharged without trial; 122 were brought to trial and found not guilty, while 464 were tried and found guilty. The other 82 disappeared from the record, and must therefore be disregarded. Eliminating these, we have the fact that 261 of the

(1) Tables A-5 and 6.

(2) Tables A-6 and 7.

(3) Tables A-9 and 10.

men and women in jail on that date, 36 per cent of the total number, made good the legal presumption of their innocence. Assuming that the same ratio holds approximately for the annual population, it would appear that of the 10,642 men and women who are held for longer or shorter periods in the jail during the year 1921, no less than 3800 were presumably innocent of the offenses with which they were charged.

Other records give equally striking results. In the table of jail cases disposed of, covering the years 1914, 1916 and 1921,(1) we find that out of 2241 held in jail for the Criminal Court in 1914, 479, or 21.4 per cent, were refused indictment, 319 or 14.2 per cent were discharged without trial and 273, or 12.2 per cent, tried and found not guilty; a total of 1071, 47.8 per cent, whose ordeal of imprisonment was a futile sacrifice on the altar of justice.

Coming down to 1921, we find that of 2639 similarly held, the record was as follows:

No bill.....	144	5.5 per cent
Discharged without trial.....	426	16.1 per cent
Tried and acquitted.....	266	10 per cent
	836	31.6 per cent

Of those brought to trial, the percentage acquitted varies in the four years, from 9 per cent in 1919, to 14.2 per cent in 1914; 10.5 per cent in 1916, and 12.4 per cent in 1921. There is a tendency to place the responsibility for this discrepancy between indictments and convictions on the trial jury. The imperfections of the jury system are too well-known to be ignored in any attempt to assess this responsibility. It might be well, however, to inquire how cautiously the grand jury performs its task of finding indictments and how competently the case is presented to the court and jury on the trial.

#### THE GUILTY

A tabulation of the case brought to trial, in the years 1914, 1916, 1919 and 1921, shows the following disposition of those brought to trial and found guilty:

	1914	1916	1919	1921
Total.....	1649	1438	1607	1803
Committed to County Jail.....	297	204	412	283
House of Correction.....	454	380	285	482
Joliet Penitentiary.....	437	321	297	365
Pontiac Reformatory.....	131	242	237	286
Chester.....	6	5	8	12
Elgin.....	...	...	1	1
Kankakee.....	1	...	2	6
Lincoln.....	...	...	...	3
Dunning.....	...	...	...	1
Executed.....	...	5	5	11
Placed on Probation.....	323	286	360	353

(1) Table A-11.

The percentage of convictions is singularly uniform, being 17.4, 16.1, 18.4 and 17.1 for the four years respectively, and the same may be said of the distribution of those convicted among the several institutions provided for the various types of offenders. Thus, Joliet, which in 1914, received 33 per cent of all those committed to institutions, got 27.9 per cent in 1916, 28.5 per cent in 1919, and 25 per cent, the lowest percentage reached in recent years, in 1921. The receipts of the Reformatory, on the other hand, have gone up from 9.9 per cent in 1914, to 16.8 in 1916, 14.7 in 1919 and 15.8 in 1921.

The ratio of releases on probation has, it would appear, not been appreciably affected by the drive which has recently been made on that imperfect but hopeful instrumentality of justice. The record shows that the percentage of those convicted who are placed on probation has varied within narrow limits from 19.6 in 1914 and again in 1921, to 20 in 1916 and 22.4 in 1919.

#### (f) PERIOD OF CONFINEMENT

The same table that gives the details of the disposition of the 807 cases held on December 1st, 1920, gives also the approximate time that they lay in jail. It there appears that, of the 85 whose cases were dismissed without being brought to trial, only ten were confined less than a month and only 24 less than two months. Forty, or 47 per cent, were in jail over 100 days, and 23, or 27 per cent, from 150 to 300 days.

Of 56 brought to trial and acquitted, only two were confined less than a month and only 14 less than two months. Twenty-two, or 40 per cent, were detained over 100 days and 6, or 10.7 per cent, from 150 days to more than a year.

Of 404 brought to trial and convicted, only 10 were held less than a month, and only 80 less than two months. Two hundred and three, over 50 per cent, were confined over 100 days; 122, or 30 per cent, over 150 days; 79, or 19.5 per cent, over 200 days; 51, or 12.6 per cent over 300 days, and 15 over 400 days.

Other tables, seek to place the responsibility for these delays. From these it appears that of the 587 cases awaiting trial in the jail on December 1, 1920, 437 were under indictment awaiting action by the Criminal Court; 94 by the Municipal Court and 56 by the United States Court. The Federal Court disposed of 12.5 per cent of its cases within ten days, and 43 per cent within the first month. As many as 29, however, 50 per cent of the whole number, hung on for from two to six months.

The Municipal Court cleaned up 84 per cent of its cases within 30 days (54 per cent in the first ten days), leaving only a few stragglers to linger on through the ensuing six months.

The period of waiting for trial in the Criminal Court is reckoned from the date of the indictment, for which in most cases the prisoner has been waiting in jail. Of the 437 cases awaiting action by that court, one was disposed of within ten days, six more under 20 days and a total of 19, or 4.3 per cent, in the first month. In the course of the second month 150 more were taken care of, making a total of 41 per cent. There are now 268 Criminal Court prisoners who have been in jail two months since their indictment. Ninety-eight of these are disposed of in the third month, leaving 170 with three months imprisonment behind them and an indefinite number of weeks or months still ahead. At the



end of the fourth month there are still 98 waiting, 22.4 per cent of the original number. At the end of the fifth month, 79; at the end of the sixth month 54; and so on. At the end of the ninth month there are still 30, and at the end of the year perhaps a dozen or fifteen. The Clerk of the jail gives a list of ten men, now or very recently in the jail, whose period of detention has run from 15 to 18 months.

All of this comes, in most cases, on top of a period of waiting for the grand jury to act. This has added on the average anywhere from 10 to 40 days to the total period of confinement.<sup>(1)</sup> Of the 489 members of our group who were held for the grand jury, 184, or nearly 40 per cent, were disposed of within two weeks, and 229, or 48.5 per cent more, by the end of the first month. At the end of the second month all but a dozen had been indicted or freed by the grand jury. This is a record that in point of speed shines by comparison with that of the Criminal Court, but, when it is viewed in connection with the fact that of the 489 passed upon only 20 were refused indictment and that of those indicted 94 were never brought to trial (60 nolle prossed and 34 stricken from the calendar of the court) and 66 tried and acquitted, one wonders now much independent and serious consideration the grand jury gives to the cases submitted to it by the State's Attorney.

#### (g) HEALTH CONDITIONS

On the important question of the physical and mental conditions affecting the jail population we have little or no trustworthy information. The Medical Report which forms a part of this survey calls attention to the superficial character of the examinations to which incoming prisoners are subjected at the jail and to the total lack of any subsequent examination of those confined. For this reason little space will be devoted to any analysis of the physical record from the County jail reports.<sup>(2)</sup> But if the medical examinations are superficial, when they are not entirely lacking, what opinion can we form of the health of a jail population which even under those conditions of professional neglect is found to have 5428 cases of physical disease among 10642 inmates. How much more a real clinical examination would disclose, we can only guess, but we need have no hesitation in assuming that the figures relating to the occurrence of tuberculosis and venereal disease are far too low, certainly for the last three years. The figures given are as follows: For tuberculosis in 1919, 120 in a population of 8618; in 1920, 127 in a population of 8759, and in 1921, 70 in a population of 10642; for syphilis the figures for the three years are 86, 124 and 152, respectively; for gonorrhea they are 286, 283 and 301 respectively.

But it is in the total lack of any information as to the mental condition of the inmates from year to year that the jail reports are most seriously defective, and it is unfortunate that neither from the police nor from the courts do we get any light on the character of the jail population in this important particular. We know from studies elsewhere made that a large proportion of the criminal population is made up of the mentally defective and diseased and we have learned that there is in many cases an intimate correlation between mental

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(1) Table A-13.

(2) Table A-14.

defect or psychopathic instability and criminality. But this new knowledge, so necessary for the proper classification and handling of a delinquent group, as necessary in a jail as in a penitentiary, has been treated by our jail authorities as though it did not exist.

The importance of this phase of our study of the jail population seems to justify a brief recapitulation of the results reached in recent studies made in a variety of correctional institutions. A psychiatric clinic was established in Sing Sing prison in 1916, having been made possible by the financial support given by the Rockefeller Foundation to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Dr. Bernard Glueck, the director of the clinic, found in the first nine months of its existence that, of 608 adult prisoners admitted to Sing Sing prison within the period of nine months, 66.8 per cent were individuals who had shown throughout life a tendency to behave in a manner at variance with the behaviour of the average normal person, and that this deviation from normal behaviour had repeatedly manifested itself in a criminal act; 59 per cent of this series of 608 cases showed demonstrable deviation from the average normal mental health; 28.1 per cent possessed a degree of intelligence equivalent to that of the average American child of 12 years or under; 18.9 per cent were so constitutionally inferior or psychopathic as to have rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible, adaptation to the ordinary requirements of life in modern society; 12 per cent were found to be suffering from distinct mental diseases or deterioration. A similar study carried on at Auburn Prison, New York, showed 61.7 per cent of the cases studied to be abnormal mentally; at the Indiana State Prison, 45 per cent; at the Massachusetts State Prison, 34.9 per cent; at the New York State Reformatory, Elmira, 58 per cent; at the Massachusetts State Reformatory for Men, 59 per cent; at the Massachusetts State Reformatory for Women, 63 per cent; at the House of Correction, Holmesburg, Penna., 69 per cent; at the Western House of Refuge for Women, Albion, N. Y., 82.1 per cent; at the Westchester County Penitentiary, New York, 57 per cent; at the United State Naval Prison, Portsmouth, N. H., 66 per cent.

These statistics of abnormality of delinquent groups carry a plain implication for those who are concerned with the problem of the proper housing and treatment of a jail population. There is no reason to doubt that a similar study of the inmates of our county jail would produce substantially similar results. While many of these are in fact innocent of the offenses charged against them, a large proportion of them spring from families and social groups that are the seed beds of delinquency. The fact that they are in jail is at least presumptive evidence that they lack the qualities essential to success in the struggle for existence. They have not "made good" and the reason for the failure must, in part at least, be looked for in the undisclosed factors of their personality.

#### (h) THE CONVICT GROUP

Reference has elsewhere been made to the fact that, in addition to its normal function as a place of detention for men and women awaiting trial, the County jail is also used as a place of punishment for convicted offenders. Most such offenders, if not placed on probation, are, in case of serious crimes, committed to the State Penitentiary at Joliet or to the State Reformatory at Pontiac; in the case of misdemeanors, the usual disposition in Chicago is to



commit the offenders to the House of Correction. But, though the House of Correction has many empty cells for both men and women, the courts continue to commit many such offenders to the overcrowded, unwholesome cells of the jail. In a few instances no other course appears to be open to them without legislative action, as in the case of federal prisoners who, by arrangement with the Department of Justice at Washington, can be sent for punishment only to the county jail. So there are a few fraudulent debtors who are not entitled to claim the hospitality of the workhouse and a few more who are committed by the Judges for contempt of court.

But all these together make up but a small part of the hundreds who are annually sentenced to terms of imprisonment in the jail. The number of these has shown considerable variation in the period of nine years (1913-1921) for which records of a sort are available,<sup>(1)</sup> the minimum of 105 appearing to have been reached in 1916, and the maximum of 380 in 1917. The total reported in 1918 was 296; in 1919, 221; in 1920, 370; in 1921, 290. The records are too defective, however, to be trustworthy. Apparently they contain neither the Federal cases, the debtors nor the contempt cases. Roughly estimated, however, it is safe to say that the daily convict population of the jail sentenced by the Criminal and Municipal Courts ranged from a minimum of 47 on June 4, 1917, to 101 on December 1, 1919. On March 6, 1922, it was 65. The average number must have been approximately 70.<sup>(2)</sup> This situation was somewhat relieved in the three years, 1918 to 1921, by the transfer of a considerable number of these to the County Poor Farm at Oak Forest, as many as 15 to 25 being kept there on farm work during the greater part of that period. By December, 1921, the number so disposed of had fallen to six and in March, 1922, only one remained.

The offenses for which jail sentences are imposed are various, ranging from attempted murder, burglary and robbery, to the most trifling misdemeanors. Commitments for larceny are the most frequent, running from 48 in 1913 to 228 in 1917, and 210 in 1920. By far the larger number come from the Criminal Court, the Municipal Court being responsible for only 48 out of 370, or 13 per cent, in 1920; 37 out of 221, or 16.7 per cent in 1919; 25 out of 296, or 8.5 per cent in 1918, and 48 out of 380, or 12.6 per cent in 1917.<sup>(3)</sup>

In so far as it lies in the discretion of the courts, this practice of sentencing convicted offenders to the jail should be stopped at once; and where legislative or other action is necessary to put an end to the practice, no time should be lost in securing the needed relief. Reference has already been made to the vicious effect upon the jail of perpetuating the old tradition that it is a den of thieves. Apart from this, however, there can be no justification for a practice which adds materially, as this does, to the disgraceful condition of overcrowding which already prevails in the institution.

### (3) CHARACTER OF THE JAIL POPULATION

Here and there in the foregoing study allusions are made to the diversity of character contained in the jail population. Based, as these are, on personal

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(1) Tables A-15, 18 and 19.

(2) Table A-16.

(3) Table A-15.

impressions, on statistics showing the nature of the charges on which the inmates are held, and on their own statements as to their previous arrests, if any, it is recognized that they may seem too indefinite or, at least, too general in character to satisfy the demands of an exact survey. For this reason, in order to secure a concrete basis of fact for the authorities as well as for the general public to go on, it was deemed best to undertake an individual character study of the jail population. The data elicited by this inquiry, which appear in a special report herein annexed, are of great interest. They demonstrate two facts of importance: First, that in the vast majority of cases most, if not all, of the relevant facts regarding a prisoner's personality and history are readily obtainable; and second, that the facts thus obtained go far to determine the prisoner's character, that is to say his dependability, the extent of his divergence, if any, from normal standards of behavior, the mental or social factors in such divergence and the prospects and preferable methods of securing his rehabilitation.

On the first point, the accessibility of the desired information, it is interesting to note that out of 381 unselected cases, 86 per cent had been residents in Chicago or Cook County for at least a year. Out of 101 cases more thoroughly studied, the school record was available in 70 per cent of the cases and more than half of these contributed information of value; in 92 per cent of the cases the work record was found to be available and nearly 80 per cent of these were of value; 70 per cent were known to one or more registering social agencies and 94 per cent had a place in the community, i.e., were attached to a family or known to neighbors, etc. In other words less than six per cent were waifs or strays and nearly all were city dwellers and had a definite location.

For the other result of this inquiry, the specified facts elicited concerning the individuals studied, reference must be had to the detailed report. In general it may be said that it vindicates to a gratifying degree the conclusion reached in the character analysis of the jail population elsewhere given. The proportion of workers to "loafers" is not less than 81 to 19, and the ratio of steady workers to shifting (but still regular) laborers, 42 to 58. Considering the large proportion of boys and very young men among them, it is not surprising to find that only 17 per cent are married. A considerable number, perhaps 20 per cent, are well disposed but incompetent, and obviously in need of protective care, some of them of custodial care. A few of them are the black sheep of respectable families whose tact and intelligence have not been equal to the problem of handling them. Many are feeble-minded, sloughed off by the schools and left to make their own way among the pitfalls of life. Others are "not right," eccentric, psychopathic, proper candidates for a hospital rather than a jail. Some have "seen service"—less than one would expect, however—and have gotten little good out of army life. And then there are the habitual criminals (only a few of them, however) to whom a spell in jail is only a part of the day's work, and the derelicts (still fewer in number) who have come to the pass where jail life is a part of the year's routine.

What impresses one in reading the individual records on which this report is based, is not the guilt or innocence of the individual with respect to the specific crime charged, but the basic elements of character, good or bad, which his social history, taken as a whole, disclosed. The crime, if he was guilty of one,



is, indeed, an important factor in this estimate of character, but it becomes clear that it is not the only one, and the previous history may not only create a presumption as to guilt or innocence in the particular case, but may give even guilt a different complexion, for better or worse, by placing the act in due relation to its background.

Inspired by these considerations the jail survey has ventured on such an estimate of what may, for lack of a better word, be termed the "dependability" of the individuals comprising the jail population. The group of workers who conducted this inquiry constituted themselves a jury to weigh the evidence. Their conclusions are interesting. Taking into account all the facts of personality which they could gather from personal contact with the individuals concerned and from inquiries pursued among those acquainted with them, and giving due weight to the work record, the school record and the family record, as well as to previous criminal experience, if any, of the group so studied, they came to the conclusion that 36 per cent of those examined were "dependable" and 32 per cent "undependable." The remaining 32 per cent they class as "doubtful," mostly on the ground of insufficient information. It would probably be fair to divide these doubtful cases between the two groups in the ratio of 36 to 32, which would raise the dependable group to 52.5 per cent and undependable to 47.5 per cent. But, eliminating all speculative factors and leaving the doubtful group entirely out of account, we have the significant result that at least one-third of the jail population, not less than 250 of those at present confined, not less than 350 of the number confined when the population is at its present maximum, are unnecessarily subjected to the ordeal of imprisonment while awaiting the disposition of their cases.

#### (4) MORALE OF THE JAIL POPULATION

There is another aspect of the jail, too subtle and indefinite to be measured by statistics and yet too obvious to be overlooked—something that may be described as the resultant of all the conditions heretofore set forth. It is the "morale," the spirit and temper, of the jail population.

It cannot be denied that this is bad. This fact has been impressed on everyone connected with the jail survey who has visited the institution and mingled with the inmates, and the impression thus formed has been corroborated by a graduate student in Chicago University who has recently served a two-weeks' term as a voluntary prisoner in the jail. The general atmosphere is one of anxiety and depression alternating with feverish hopes of speedy release, the latter usually turning on the prospects of "fixing" some one in authority.

The moral tone is also bad. There are only two invariable topics of conversation—sex and the chance of getting out. Filthy talk and filthy practices are common in the crowded cells and bull-pens. Homo-sexual vice is not uncommon and is laughed at. It seems to excite no horror and scarcely any reprobation. Young boys are corrupted and forced. Dope can be had by anyone who can pay for it. Even those who are not "fiends" often get it and use it to find temporary relief from the unbearable irritation and the depression of jail life. Not unfrequently new comers are set upon, mauled and robbed of what little money or other valuables they may have, sometimes stripped of

shoes, shirts and other articles of clothing. These things may happen in the crowded bull-pens or in the cells to which they are committed, and attract little attention from those not directly concerned. It is all a part of jail life.

If cleanliness is next to godliness, the inmates of the jail are far, indeed, from the latter condition. There is little sense of the decency of cleanliness. The prisoners are expected to keep their cells in order, but the galleries and bull-pens become a dump for refuse of all kinds which is thrown from the cells—papers, fruit peelings, what is left of the prison meal or the surplus of their packages of eatables. During the exercise periods the men walk or stand in this mess, which, with the incessant spitting, soon gives the place the aspect of a sty.

The uncertainties and disappointments in the matter of getting to trial create a condition of nervous strain and irritability which keeps the whole population on edge, a condition which is aggravated by the total lack of privacy, by day or by night, and by the enforced association with people who are distasteful or whose language and habits are annoying. Mr. Lane in his report comments on the mob-like atmosphere of the jail, and Mr. Whitman on the unrest and danger of trouble that breeds in this mass of humanity filled with resentment and hate against their oppressors.

It would be a mistake to assume that these conditions are wholly, or even largely, due to the bad character of the prisoners individually. It is an artificial result which would be produced in any class of half-baked, undisciplined men and boys living under the same intolerable conditions. The best soon sink to the level of the worst.

## (5) CONCLUSIONS

From the distracting mass of statistical and other material above surveyed, a few facts of capital importance to our inquiry stand out and claim our attention.

FIRST. The first of these is the disconcerting fact that a large number of children thirteen to sixteen years of age, and subject, therefore, in the first instance, to the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court, are still thrown into the County Jail to await their day in Court. This is so clearly inconsistent with the spirit, if not the letter, of the Juvenile Court law, that it calls for explanation on the part of those responsible for the procedure. The law excludes only one class of offenders under seventeen years of age from the protective jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court—those accused of murder, and one only of those committed to the jail in 1921, was of that class. If it is still deemed necessary in Illinois to subject other juvenile offenders to the punitive procedure of the criminal law, that fact affords no sufficient excuse for committing them for custody to the county jail. Whatever offenses may be imputed to these children, the place for them is the Juvenile Detention Home, where they can not only live under more decent and humane conditions, but may receive the study and treatment that they may require.

Indeed, it is pertinent to inquire whether the people of Illinois are not about ready to follow the example of other enlightened communities and abolish entirely this divided jurisdiction over juvenile offenders. No boy or girl under seventeen should on any pretext be subject to any jurisdiction but that of the Juvenile Court. It may be truly said that the "boy thugs," who are re-



served for the Criminal Court are the ones that most need the careful study and vigilant supervision which the Juvenile Court was instituted to furnish.

SECOND. The second fact that demands attention is the largen umber of immature boys of 17 to 20 years of age, all still in the impressionable and plastic period of their lives, who are compelled to await the pleasure of the State's Attorney and the courts in the corroding atmosphere of the county jail. Something like 2000 of these boys undergo this experience every year. This is a crime against youth and calls for immediate correction.

It will be profitable to take a glance back over the history of the last twenty-five years. When Whitman became jailer in 1895, and for ten years after, the jail was full of youngsters of ten to sixteen years of age. There are no records to indicate their number, but Mr. Whitman says there were hundreds of them. They were the "terrors" of their time and of the jail. They were the boy desperadoes, who kept the jail in an uproar and were, in consequence, kept under the sternest discipline and visited with the severest punishments. Special precautions were taken against them. Older prisoners were allowed a certain degree of liberty in the bull-pens but not these wild and irresponsible boys. Every new jailer and guard on taking office was warned against them, while they lived the degrading and demoralizing life that the jail still provides for its inmates. What has since become of them? Nobody knows. Doubtless most of them, after their initiation in the jail, became good and regular members of the fraternity of crooks and thugs. If they didn't, they must have been singularly impervious to the treatment to which they were subjected there, which the boys only a little older than they were, are now receiving in the same place.

These younger boys are not, except in a few instances, any longer committed to the jail. Instead, they are cared for in the friendly and helpful atmosphere of the Juvenile Detention Home. Here they are studied, while they themselves study and work and play, and then, as their welfare may require, are either returned to their homes or placed on probation or committed to an institution like the St. Charles School, where the healing and redemptive influences of the Juvenile Detention Home may be continued. Their initiation is not into vice and crime but into the brotherhood of "good sports," who play the game and learn to be men.

This change in the method of treating the boy criminal—for in those days it was these children who, as burglars and robbers and thieves, bore the burden of criminality, as their older brothers do now—marks a forward step in civilization. Starting with the institution of the Juvenile Court in Chicago only twenty years ago, it has gone all over the land and has found admirers and imitators in foreign countries. There is nothing in the history of Chicago in which her people may more justly take pride than this achievement.

But time has not stood still in these twenty years and the hour has come for another forward step. It is the turn of the older boys, the present-day thugs and desperadoes, to be given a similar chance by the same, identical means.

Unfortunately Chicago has missed the opportunity to assert her leadership in this second phase of the forward movement. There is a well-defined tendency in many of our states and cities to provide a method of treatment for these youthful offenders analogous to that of the Juvenile Court. In several states the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court has actually been extended to them.

In New York City a study is being made of the adolescent offender up to twenty-one years of age with a view to determining the feasibility of similar action there. The city of Chicago has recognized the distinction involved in this tendency by setting up a Boys' Court, as a specialized branch of the Municipal Court. The next step is to transform this tribunal into a Boys' Court of unlimited jurisdiction in cases of crime or delinquency, with the protective and correctional powers now exercised by the Juvenile Court.

But it is not necessary to wait for the full development of this program. A beginning may be made at once by the provision of a Boys' Detention Home to receive these young offenders. This must, of course, be a secure place of detention, but it should not be a *jail*; at least of all *the* jail, in which older and more hardened offenders are confined. It should be as frankly a place for the study and treatment of the delinquent as is the Juvenile Delinquent Home and should be as well equipped with facilities for the educative and ameliorative processes which have developed under the enlightened procedure of the Juvenile Court. It should also maintain the milder discipline and the more sympathetic and helpful spirit of the Juvenile Home.

Will they, under such a regime, be "dangerous?" Well, they are dangerous now to the jail authorities and to the community in the future. It is an illusion that severe, repressive methods of discipline tend to promote order or discourage the tendency to escape. They have exactly the contrary effect. The best disciplinary measures are those that secure the voluntary cooperation of the prisoners, and bring their better impulses into play. They play the game whatever it may be. They match force with force or cunning; they meet friendliness and sympathy with gratitude and cooperation. This has been so often demonstrated in the history of institutional management that only those who shut their eyes to the fact, fail to see it.

THIRD. A third fact of commanding importance to our inquiry is the great preponderance of young men, many of them still boys in years and more of them in mind and spirit, in our jail population. Undeveloped in character, inexperienced in life, with habits still in the making and with little or no training in industry, these young men of twenty-one or thirty offer an alluring opportunity for constructive effort to set them in the way of right living. For them the period of detention should be a schooling in citizenship rather than in vice and crime.

This points to the creation of a type of detention in which they will not only be able to group themselves naturally according to their characters and tastes and be protected from enforced contact with vice and depravity, but where they will be furnished with as much industrial and other training as the period of their detention renders possible and with carefully devised occupation and recreation. Play is as important as work in the building of character in the young, and in the development of a sound social attitude, and these young men should have an abundance of both. If to all these things, there should also be added some experience in the responsibilities of citizenship and the opportunity to demonstrate their trustworthiness, we should have a jail which is an asset rather than a liability to the community which maintains it.

FOURTH. A further fact that appears but dimly in the record which has been spread on these pages, but the existence of which may be safely assumed.



is the presence in the jail of a large number of men and women who are unfitted by mental or physical defect or disease to constitute an integral part of the jail community. There must be a considerable number who are too feeble-minded or psychopathic to receive proper treatment in jail and who are a constant menace to the order and discipline of the institution. It is usually among these that the "bad actors" are found and it is these who are the carriers of the infection of abnormal vice. There must be many also so infected with tuberculosis or venereal disease as to require the most expert clinical or hospital treatment. It is a refinement of cruelty to subject people so afflicted to jail life. They should be taken care of in institutions like the County Hospital, where they can receive the expert treatment that their cases require. The jail, as a place of temporary detention, cannot be expected to provide proper facilities for dealing adequately with cases of this kind. It should, however, be equipped, not only with a medical staff and hospital, such as are recommended in the report of Dr. Preble and Dr. Miller, but, in addition, with a completely equipped psychopathic laboratory to be administered by the State Criminalologist. This should make a mental examination of every prisoner on his admission to the jail, and, in conjunction with the Bureau of Social Service of the County, should also make a thorough personal and social study of each inmate. The facts so gathered would not only be of greatest value to the jail administration in the classification of the jail population and to the State's Attorney and the Courts in their subsequent dealings with the prisoners, but would constitute an invaluable body of knowledge for the scientific study of the delinquent classes. Such a study has long been desired by students of the crime problem because of its bearing on the whole question of the administration of criminal justice. It is equally to be desired as an aid in the solution of the jail problem. The character study of the jail population which has been conducted as an incident of this survey may be regarded as the beginning of a more comprehensive program of investigation to be carried out by the authorities of the jail. It has at least demonstrated the feasibility of such a program and the value of the results that it may reasonably expect to obtain.

FIFTH. Another outstanding fact of the jail situation is the contented ignorance of the authorities as to the character of the individuals comprising the jail population. They know nothing but the offense with which the prisoner is charged, the amount of the bail-bond that he must provide in order to purchase his freedom and the bare facts as to age, sex, color and the record of previous offenses. Cook County is equipped with a Bureau of Social Service, an institution of great possibilities, which, if adequately supported and properly utilized, should be able to render inestimable service in the task of individualizing the treatment of those held in the jail. This bureau does, in fact, furnish the State's Attorney and the Criminal Court with a certain amount of personal information concerning those awaiting indictment or trial, and the psychopathic laboratory of the Municipal Court records an estimate of the mental condition of offenders in a small percentage of cases arraigned in that court, but the jail knows nothing of all this nor does it attempt to ascertain anything more.

There are men and boys who have been taken by the police from a steady job, men who in good or in bad times, support a family, along with professional deadbeats and boys whose only conception of labor is the casual job; there are good and bad husbands and fathers; habitual drunkards and men of a settled

sobriety of life; gangsters and home-keeping school boys; the sober-minded with the reckless and light-minded; men habituated to responsibility and, possibly, broken by it, the wastrels and ne'er-do-wells; the feeble minded with the keen and intelligent; the insane and psychopathic with those whose mental and emotional balance leave nothing to be desired; shifty, tricky, cynical individuals, having no respect for man or God, with others of a marked character of dependability. All of these facts might be assumed even if they had not been brought out into the light of day by the character study of the jail population elsewhere referred to.

But the jail knows nothing and cares nothing about all this. These facts have an immediate bearing on the treatment that might and should be employed in dealing with these varied types of personality, but the jail treats them all alike with equal suspicion and indifference. They are not so many men and women, boys and girls, but all together a jail population. That this is bungling business, even from the purely administrative point of view, every intelligent employer of labor would say. From the social point of view it is worse than a blunder; it is a crime. These cogs in a machine, these items in an account, are after all, men and women, boys and girls, with lives to be lived and redeemed, with souls to be saved or damned. The proper study of mankind is man, man the individual, not man in the aggregate. The obligation of the jail administration is to John and Martha; to Pete and Molly; not to an indistinguishable, undifferentiated mass of humanity and it will not be until this mass is broken up into its constituent elements of human individuals that the jail will perform its real function of giving its unhappy victims a new hold on life—that teeming, struggling life that has, for the moment, thrown them off into this scrap-heap of humanity.

SIXTH. Another fact that stands out in our study of the jail is the deterioration of character resulting from the contemptuous indifference of the authorities to the fate of those whom they hold in custody. Enough has been said elsewhere of the abhorrent living conditions that the jail affords. What has not been sufficiently noticed is the inevitable effect of these conditions in gradually eating away the self-respect of those subjected to them. The worst thing about filth is not the discomfort and horror that it excites but the fact that it will in time cease to excite disgust and horror. The worst thing about brutal repression is not the resentment it creates but its tendency to brutalize the victim of it. Contempt, if long enough continued, makes the despised individual sink immeasurably in his own esteem. So these men and boys, ill-fed, crowded like cattle into a dirty pen, hampered by numberless arbitrary restrictions on their liberty, kept waiting week after week and month after month without knowledge as to the time of their trial or release, ignored and apparently forgotten, tend to sink in character to the level of contempt that the authorities have fixed for them. Mr. Anderson, in his report, comments on the sickening anxiety of the prisoners as to their fate, to the pathetic humility, after resentment had died out, with which they asked if something couldn't be done to hurry things up and get their cases heard. More than one man remarked that he would be glad to plead guilty and be done with it. "Better a fixed term in prison than this everlasting waiting in jail for something to happen."

Who can estimate the effect, in terms of degradation, of the practice of executing the death penalty in the jail? That the apparatus for conducting hangings is kept there for instant use is itself an affront to every instinct of



decency and humanity that the prisoners may possess. The official attitude of contempt for them and their feelings reaches its highest expression in converting a jail corridor into a death chamber.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the bad morale of the jail population. "Evil communications" do, it is true, "corrupt good manners," but that is an individual matter. A general breakdown in standards of decency and morality is a community matter and results from conditions that are common to all. It is the jail with its callous, indiscriminating violation of human nature that has robbed the men and boys confined in it of the incentives of humane and decent living.

### 3. THE WIDE-OPEN INTAKE

Far too many people are committed to the county jail. This is the outstanding fact in any study of police, court and jail records. Too many are arrested, too many of those arrested are held for trial, too many of those held for trial are thrown into jail. The responsibility for these abuses is shared by the police, the Municipal Court and State's Attorney.

#### (1) RELATION OF POLICE TO THE JAIL PROBLEM

Here in Chicago as in other large cities, the root of the evil is to be found in the conception of the police function which has come to prevail in this country. Under a system which rates the efficiency of the police, not by the crime prevented or the actual number of offenders brought to justice, but by the number of arrests made, we get the results set forth in the report of the City Council Committee on Crime in 1915 and in the statistics presented by Miss Edith Abbott in this report.

Thus, it appears that, in the year 1912, 85,357 persons were arrested and arraigned in the Municipal Court, 51,978, or 60.9 per cent, of whom were discharged and 33,397, or 39.1 per cent, held for the grand jury or for trial. For 1913 the figures rise to the number of 109,711 arraigned, with 58,532 discharged on the preliminary hearing, 53.4 per cent of the whole number. Miss Abbott's figures, covering the twelve years, 1910-1921, give equally striking results, the number of arraignments varying widely from 77,077 in 1910 to 166,574 in 1915—the banner year for the police thus far—dropping to 93,987 in 1919 and to 90,476 in 1920, and rising again to 117,912 in 1921, with a percentage of discharged ranging from 42.7 in 1915 to 69.5 in 1920 and 66 per cent in 1921.<sup>(1)</sup>

What all this comes to is that anywhere from forty to eighty thousand citizens of Chicago or strangers within her gates are arrested every year either without cause or on such trifling charges that they get no further than the threshold of the Municipal Court. On the basis of accuracy of police work these figures seem to indicate a record of efficiency of from 38 to 50 per cent during the last dozen years.

Commenting on the statistics of arrests and convictions given in its report, the Committee on Crime calls attention, in these words, to "The waste of needless arrests:"<sup>(2)</sup> "All available statistics show that more than 50 per cent of all

(1) Report of City Council Committee on Crime (1915) pp. 20, 23.

(2) Report (1915) p. 36.

the persons arrested and tried are discharged and for the more serious crimes the percentage discharged runs very much higher. Following the assumption that those discharged are innocent, or at most are guilty of such small offenses, that no penalty can be imposed, then more than half of all the 121,333 persons<sup>(1)</sup> who were brought into the Municipal Court for felonies, for misdemeanors, or for violations of ordinances should not have been brought into court at all; that is, that more than 60,000 persons were brought into court needlessly. Most of these persons had been arrested, many thousands of them had spent twenty-four hours at least in the police stations, many hundreds had spent weeks or months in the County Jail. They had had all the humiliations of being arrested and tried, and the tax-payers had borne the cost of the police who had arrested them, of the police stations or jail that had detained them, of the courts and judges and other court officials who have been part of the machinery that tried them. There is more than this to be considered. Unjustified arrests and imprisonment create a disrespect for the law that in turn breeds lawlessness."

Miss Abbott's report gives numerous illustrations of the trivial character of the charges on which many police arrests were made, as recorded in the last report of the Municipal Court.

The indictment of police activity thus made covers not only the large number of arrests made on bare suspicion and without reasonable cause, but the much larger number arrested for trifling offenses which do not really call for judicial action. This is in effect an assumption by the police of the judicial function of punishing offenders or suspected offenders by subjecting them to the humiliation of arrest and the hardships of confinement over night in a police lock-up. Examples of this practice are the frequent, sensational raids on suspected gambling establishments, often made without legal warrant, which result in wholesale arrests of scores of decent citizens, only to be held over night in the unwholesome detention cells of the police stations and discharged on arraignment in the morning.

The machinery of justice should be invoked only where the public interest clearly demands such action. Most cases of wrong-doing, are, as a matter of fact, privately adjusted, disposed of by mutual concession, by apology or restitution on the one hand, by forgiveness on the other. It is well that this is so. Justice and mercy are not the prerogatives of the courts alone. It would be an intolerable situation if every violation of private or public right were to be tried and punished by the instrumentalities and methods of our system of criminal justice. Moreover it would be impossible. It is submitted that, as officers of the peace, the police should actively cooperate in promoting this adjustment of private differences. They should, at any rate, come to know from experience what cases are deemed of sufficient gravity to warrant judicial action and to restrict the exercise of the power of arrest to such cases.

It is also to be desired that the police should be invested with more of a protective function, as was done in the city of New York under the recent police administration of Col. Arthur Wood. For this type of work, especially among the boys whose playground is the street, the police are peculiarly adapted. They are already organized so as to be in touch with every part of the city, especially with those parts where protective work is most required;

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(1) Figures for 1921; Report p. 25.



they come to know the families in their neighborhood, what the young people are doing after school hours or in the evening, what kind of company they are keeping, etc.; they have a natural affinity for the work—at least it was reported by an observer in the course of the New York experiment that he had never found a policeman, who didn't like it better than any other part of his job; and, finally, they are looked up to as the representatives of law and order and the visible authority of the community, and any boy, no matter how tough, is proud to be able to claim the policeman on the beat as his friend or pal.

This higher duty of the police to the community has never been better expressed than in the words reported to have been spoken by Judge John J. Sullivan of the Superior Court on June 17, 1922, in addressing a group of newly appointed members of the police force of this city: "It is your duty to arrest persons committing crime, but a higher duty than that is to prevent crime. Preventing a man from committing a crime is better than punishing him after he has committed it. And it is a harder job, too. *Never make an arrest unless you are sure you have a case.*"

In conclusion, it may be proper to add that, to endow the police formally with this protective function, would do as much for them as for the boys who come under their influence. The ordinary police function, represented by the club and the gun, is unfortunately a necessary one and at the present time it is fashionable to exalt this to the exclusion of everything else. But this is not good for the man. He should have a responsible job as nearly as possible the reverse of his man-hunting job in order to keep his human nature in proper balance; and it is safe to predict that if he throws himself heart and soul into the business of protecting young people from the evil influences that are constantly soliciting them, he will find less and less use for his stick and gun.

It is only incidentally that this report can take notice of the charges of police brutality in extorting confessions which are current in the County Jail. Not a few of the men confined there assert that they have been the victims of those methods, and the account given by Mr. Lane of the demented prisoner, whose condition is believed to be due to such treatment inflicted on him by the police, certainly presents a case for investigation by the grand jury. The fact that the Supreme Court of the State has recently expressed the opinion that such police practices are prevalent in Chicago merely gives official confirmation to a widely held popular belief.

The "third degree" and the "sweating process," in so far as they still prevail in American cities, are a peculiarly vicious survival of the old judicial practice of securing confessions by tortures, which it is the proud boast of the English common law never to have tolerated and which was swept away on the continent as the result of the humanitarian effort of the great Beccaria in the eighteenth century. For the complete abolition of these methods we shall probably have to wait for a new and more refined police system, in which training and intelligence shall have taken the place of the present exclusive reliance on brute force. In the meantime the practice should be checked by legislation, denying all validity to confessions made in the absence of defendant's counsel or of a committing magistrate.

## (2) RELATION OF MUNICIPAL COURT TO THE JAIL PROBLEM

The Chicago Municipal Court is the principal gateway to the county jail.

A considerable number of felony cases are submitted to the grand jury for indictment without the formality of a preliminary hearing before a police magistrate, but by far the greater number are held for the grand jury or for trial by the Municipal Court. The wide discrepancy between the number so held and the number actually brought to trial and convicted has been pointed out in the discussion of the disposition of jail cases above. A similar analysis of all cases held, which includes those admitted to bail, shows a wider discrepancy.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus it appears that out of 7362 felony cases disposed of by the Municipal Court in 1912, 4749, or 64.5 per cent, were discharged in that court; that 783 or 10.6 per cent, were thrown out by the grand jury, and 240, or 3.3 per cent more, dismissed by the Criminal Court. Of the total number, only 932, or 12.7 per cent were found guilty.

Of the number of 2613 held by the Municipal Court for the grand jury in that year, only 1172, i.e. 45.2 per cent, were ever brought to trial and 20.5 per cent of these were acquitted.

Miss Abbott's record shows that in the eight-year period, (1914-1921), the Grand Jury failed to indict in over twenty per cent of all cases held. In 1916 this percentage reached the high figure of 33.6. Of those charged with felonies in the seven years, 1915-1921, she finds that approximately only one-fourth of the charges resulted in convictions, and she adds this significant comment: "Thus out of every hundred persons who are arrested for serious offenses, many of them held to the Grand Jury and degraded and poisoned by a period of detention in the County Jail, seventy-five are not convicted."

It is, of course, possible to make too much of this discrepancy between the number of those held for trial and the number actually brought to trial and convicted. The accused cannot be tried before being held. The establishment of real and probable cause by the complaining witness is enough to justify the court in holding the defendant. We may, perhaps, assume that sufficient cause was shown in any case in which the judgment of the committing magistrate is confirmed by the finding of an indictment by the grand jury. But there is no presumption to this effect in the considerable number of cases where the Grand Jury refuses to indict and a strong presumption to the contrary in the much larger number of cases in which the case is dismissed on the motion of the State's Attorney.<sup>(2)</sup> The conclusion cannot be escaped that in a large proportion of these cases an investigation made before rather than after the decision to hold the accused for the Grand Jury would have rendered his commitment to jail unnecessary.

This impression is confirmed by a comparison of the record of the Municipal Court with that of the committing magistrates in England, as given in Miss Abbott's report. Thus, where we have, in 1919, a record of 29 per cent of indictable offenses resulting in conviction and 71 per cent discharged, the English record is 79 per cent convicted and only 21 per cent discharged. In 1921, the Chicago figures show 25 per cent of convictions and 75 per cent of discharges. In other words, where, out of those held on felony charges, the English courts discharge from one-fifth to one-fourth of those held for trial, we find that in Chicago no conviction can be had in three-fourths of the cases held.

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(1) Report of Crime Committee (1915) p. 26.

(2) Tables A-9, 10, 11. Report of Crime Committee, pp. 27-28. (Miss Abbott's report.)

Admitting that this result is in part due to the superiority of the English system of conducting trials in felony cases, it raises a strong presumption that the English system of selecting cases for indictment and trial is at least equally superior to ours. It is, possibly, even more significant that it is the English and not the Chicago record which is attained in the administration of criminal justice in Canada, where, in 1919 and 1920, the courts convicted 79.9 and 79.5 per cent, respectively, of the felony cases held for trial.

But the Municipal Court makes a large direct contribution to the annual jail population, not less than 3955, or 41.3 per cent, of the whole number, in 1914, 4216 or 47.3 per cent in 1916, and 3683, or 34.4 per cent, in 1921. Owing to the shorter period of detention of those held for the Municipal Court, its contribution to the daily population is relatively small, but it nevertheless, on December 1, 1920, amounted to 94, or 16 per cent of the 587 confined on that day.<sup>(1)</sup> In view of the organization and simplified procedure of the Municipal Court it is not unreasonable to assume that this number could be materially reduced.

### (3) THE STATE'S ATTORNEY AND THE JAIL

The office of the State's Attorney of Cook County is the most powerful agency of Government in the State of Illinois. Its control of the machinery of criminal justice, in the selection of cases to be tried and the termination of the time of trial, is practically unlimited. To him it is given to bind and to unloose. In all felony cases he represents the State in the Municipal Court and before the Grand Jury, as well as in the Criminal Court. His influence is strong, even where it is not predominant, in determining what cases shall be held for trial and in which cases an indictment shall be found. These unquestioned facts fall far short of placing on him the responsibility for the excessive number of cases held, or the excessive number of indictments found. But they raise a presumption strong enough to put him on the defensive. He is certainly in a position to prevent these abuses of the system of criminal justice and for that reason must share the responsibility with the Grand Jury and the Municipal Court.

It is not well that an office of such power should exist in a free community without a periodical non-partisan investigation into its personnel and methods and into the results of its operation. The community should know to what extent the State's Attorney is responsible for the enormous intake of the County Jail.

### (4) THE GRAND JURY AND THE JAIL

The Grand Jury is the last open gateway into the county jail. It, too, is too wide open. The discrepancy between the number of persons indicted and the number convicted is far too great. A single illustration will suffice. Out of 1599 true bills found in 1921 and disposed of, 427, or 26.7 per cent of the whole number were stricken off by order of the Criminal Court and 240, or 15 per cent, were discharged after a verdict of not guilty.<sup>(2)</sup> A forty per cent margin of safety gives one the uneasy feeling that the Grand Jury conceives its function

(1) Table A-12.

(2) Table. (Crime Committee Report, pp. 26, 27, 28.)



to be the finding of indictments instead of the protection of those unjustly accused.

The grand jury is itself on trial, with the tide of public feeling running strongly against it. In the larger cities it is believed to have become little more than a machine for registering the will of the State's Attorney in the matter of finding indictments.

The finding of an indictment is a grave matter. It is by indictment that the accused is formally charged by the State with the crime of which, up to that time, he has only been suspected. Whatever the legal presumption may be, he is now in fact presumed to be guilty. The imponderable but potent force of public opinion is against him. The State's Attorney treats him as guilty and, if the jury fails to convict, is apt to accuse it of conniving at criminality. The principles that should govern the Grand Jury in this matter were reiterated the other day by a learned Judge of the New York Supreme Court in his instructions to a Grand Jury of New York County. "You are forbidden," he said, "to indict without evidence which, if unexplained or uncontradicted, would in your judgment be sufficient to prove the charge beyond reasonable doubt. Very often complaints are malicious or avaricious in their nature or made with some ulterior motive. It is well, when circumstances justify such a suspicion, to inquire cautiously into this."

There is reason to believe that the Grand Jury of Cook County does not always live up to this conception of its duty. The gateway to the jail which is given into its control should be more jealously guarded.

#### (5) THE BAIL-BOND SYSTEM AND THE JAIL

The assertion has been made above that too many of those held for trial are thrown into jail. The problem seems, on the face of it, a simple one. The State is entitled to secure the presence in court of all those who have been held for trial. This security can be gained either by the giving of bail in a sufficient amount or by the detention of the accused in the county jail. The result of this is that a term in jail is little more than the price that the poor must pay for their poverty. The well-to-do, the "professionals" who have been shrewd enough to provide for this contingency, are free to go where they will and to ply their ordinary vocations, whether these are honest or criminal. A former crook recently told the writer that he wouldn't find anybody in the jail but innocents and "the poor fish who didn't amount to much as crooks. A good crook can always get bail."

Most of those held for trial find it possible to give bail. But even in this case are the words of the Scripture fulfilled: "The curse of the poor is their poverty." By far the larger part of those who secure bail are obliged to deal with the professional bondsman—one who has no interest whatever in his client and doesn't know or care whether he is innocent or guilty of the offense charged. Only a small minority find it possible to give personal bail. Now, the professional bondsman takes big risks and, as he is in the business for business reasons and not for sentimental ones, he charges big fees. Fifty dollars a thousand is the usual rate for a bond. Bonds in felony cases are rarely less than \$5000, and, in the more serious cases, range from \$10,000 to \$50,000. For many charges there is a standard rate from \$10,000 for simple robbery and \$5000 for simple burglary to \$400 for disorderly conduct; for larceny and the



confidence game the rate is from \$1000 to \$5000, according to the amount involved. But in many cases the charge is not "simple" but is complicated with one, two, three or more other charges growing out of the same transaction, as burglary with larceny, robbery with assault and with attempt to kill; and every charge has its own price. Perhaps the average amount that must be paid to provide a bond in felony cases is somewhere between \$250 to \$500—a big sum for almost any inmate of the jail to provide and, for most, a prohibitive one. The necessary amount is often secured by borrowing from friends of the family or by the pawning of clothing or the mortgage of household chattels.

Much as been said and written concerning the methods of these bail-bond "sharks," as the professional bondsmen are called; how they and their "runners," or agents, infest the approaches to the court room and the jail and persuade or terrorize the prisoners and the members of their families into submission to their extortionate demands. Jail and court attendants, the police, even the prisoner's lawyer is among these through whom the bondsman sometimes operates and often these aids of his are believed to be in his pay or to share the spoil. It is an infamous system and this is so clearly recognized by a conscientious jailer and by the Judges of the Municipal and Criminal Courts that efforts have been made to abate the nuisance.

Everybody agrees that this shameless exploitation of the poor and unfortunate should be stopped at once, but no method has yet been devised for accomplishing this end. It begins to wear the aspect of a necessary evil—with the county jail a worse evil—as its necessary alternative.

The Jail Survey has undertaken an investigation of the bailbond system as an incident of its study of the jail problem. This is not yet completed, but the character study of the jail population, the results of which have been indicated in a previous section of this report, opens the way to certain suggestions for meeting the situation. It is believed that the methods there employed, if utilized by the Municipal Court, the State's Attorney and the Criminal Court, will make it possible and expedient to release a large number of the prisoners on their personal recognizance without forcing them to resort to professional bondsmen.

It will be recalled that the study of the jail population comprehended an investigation of the individual prisoner's personality, as well as of his personal, social and industrial record; that the facts in a vast majority of cases are easily obtainable, and that the study made showed the existence in the prison of a considerable proportion of inmates, not less than one-third of the total number held for trial, who are presumably trustworthy. The method employed is substantially the same as that of the personnel manager of a bank or business house or the credit man of a manufacturing or other selling concern, supplemented by a psychological or psychiatric study of the individual's personality.

Applying these tests it would seem that not less than 200 or 250 men and boys now confined in the jail might wisely be selected for release on their personal bonds. Such release would of course, be conditional, and the person released should probably, in most cases, be subject to the supervision of a probation officer.

Indeed, the suggestion comes to this, that the principles of probation shall be tentatively and cautiously applied to properly qualified persons who have been held for trial. It has been noted before that a considerable proportion

of jail inmates are, after conviction, placed on probation. It is an incongruous situation, that of keeping in jail a person legally presumed to be innocent, when, if his guilt is established, he will be permitted to go free.

It is not to be expected that everyone so released on his own recognizance will make good. There will doubtless be an occasional breach of faith. But these are not wanting in the large class of persons, who, quite irrespective of character, are automatically released on bail. Out of 5520 bail-bonds in the Criminal Court in 1921, 552, or 12 per cent, were forfeited.<sup>(1)</sup> There is no reason to believe that the proportion of defaults will be greater in the former case than it has proved to be in the latter.

It is hoped, indeed, that experience in using the method here suggested for those who are unable to give bail, will lead to the adoption of a similar character test for those who now secure it only too easily. It is a travesty on justice to set free on bail those who may be presumed to use the indulgence only to ply their criminal trades while awaiting trial for a past crime.

Supplementing this official treatment of the bail problem, it is further suggested that immediate steps be taken to institute a bail-bond system of a less offensive and predatory character than the one at present in vogue. The "loan shark" has been largely displaced by the organization of new agencies of a reputable character to make loans to respectable workingmen and others who need to be tided over periods of unemployment or business depression. Here is a similar emergency, which, it is believed, should be met in a similar way. A quasi-benevolent foundation or corporation, with adequate financial resources, using the methods of investigation above outlined, could render an immense humanitarian service by furnishing bail to deserving individuals at low or nominal rate. In a city like Chicago there must be many public-spirited men and women of means to whom such an opportunity would powerfully appeal.

#### 4. THE CLOGGED OUTLET

The period of detention in the county jail is, for most of those confined, far too long. The statistics that have been presented make this too clear for argument. Forced confinement in jail, even under decent living conditions, is a bitter experience. Under the conditions that prevail in the Cook County jail it is cruel, if not unusual, punishment. If unnecessarily prolonged, it becomes a form of oppression that no civilized community would long tolerate. It cannot be denied that for most of those confined in the jail the period of imprisonment is unnecessarily long.

##### (1) THE MUNICIPAL COURT

It has been seen that Municipal Court cases make up a large proportion of the annual jail population (from a third to one-half of the whole), but, as these are for the most part disposed of in from ten to thirty days after commitment, they play a comparatively unimportant role in the statistics of daily population—not more, say, than 16 per cent. The Criminal Court and the Grand Jury are responsible for the remaining 493 out of a day's population of 587 who are held for court action,<sup>(2)</sup> i.e., 84 per cent.

(1) Chicago Crime Commission's Third Annual Report (1922) p. 27.

(2) The number held for trial on December 1, 1920. See table A-12.

## (2) THE GRAND JURY

The Grand Jury is regarded by many members of the bar as a serious obstacle to the speedy administration of criminal justice. Its record, here as elsewhere, is an extremely variable one. Considering the fact that it sits only when summoned by the Criminal Court and that, in the matter of investigating criminal complaints, it acts only on cases submitted by the State's Attorney, its efficient operation must obviously depend largely on the way in which these two directing agencies perform their respective functions. The promptness with which it disposes of cases awaiting its action has greatly improved in the last two or three years, due, it may be believed, to the stimulating influences of the Chicago Crime Commission. That there is room for further improvement appears from the fact that 60 per cent of its cases must still wait over two weeks in jail before action, 41 per cent more than three weeks and 15 per cent more than a month.<sup>(1)</sup> But, as has been intimated, there is no reason to believe that the Grand Jury, per se, is responsible for these delays.

It may be said, therefore, that the chief responsibility for the unjust and oppressive conditions of delay in bringing jail cases to a speedy determination rests with the Criminal Court and the State's Attorney. To fix the relative degrees of this responsibility would require a thorough investigation of the whole procedure whereby criminal justice is administered in this county, and such an inquiry lies outside the scope of this Survey. A sufficient body of facts for the purpose of this report, has, however, been accumulated by the Chicago Crime Commission and the Committee on The Administration of Criminal Justice of the Chicago Bar Association, and it is upon this that reliance has been principally placed.

## (3) THE CRIMINAL COURT ORGANIZATION

The Criminal Court of Cook County has elements of flexibility in its organization that should make it an efficient instrument of criminal administration. It is not an independent tribunal with a fixed personnel, but a body of an indefinite number of Judges drawn from a panel of forty Judges of the Superior and Circuit Courts. Its number can be increased or diminished according to the state of the criminal calendar and this can be effected by the combined action of the two courts from which its members are drawn, without legislative or executive permission. The assignments are in fact made by a joint executive committee of the Superior and Circuit Courts. From its membership thus constituted the Criminal Court chooses a Chief Justice, who at the opening of each term of Court, assigns the cases awaiting trial to the several judges by lot. Here, it is evident, we have that rare thing, a judicial body which can of its own volition, adjust itself to any demands that may be made upon it and that has in it, therefore, the promise and potency of the highest efficiency. Our statistics have shown that this promise has not been fulfilled.

There are several reasons for this. One is that the joint committee that has the duty of making assignments to the Criminal Bench is not in immediate

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(1) Table A-13.



contact with its problems and has no keen sense of its necessities. It is remote in its interests and sympathies. Another reason is that the Criminal Court is the neglected step-child of the family. Most judges dislike an assignment to what is after all, the most distasteful part of the judicial function. A third reason is a lack of team-play, of cooperation, on the part of the court and the State's Attorney. This is a serious drawback. It results in a calendar prepared without reference to the state of preparation of the prosecuting officer of the county and in ignorance of any plans that he may have for moving cases in the order of their importance or their relations to one another or for other proper reasons. Consequently there are clashes, the frequent breakdown of the calendar, continuances, and all these things spell confusion and delay—always more delay.

But there remains the flexibility of the court, in praise of which too much cannot be said. Its beneficial operation is witnessed in the recent increase in the number of Judges from seven to nineteen in order to meet the increasing demands of the great volume of indictments recently presented by the Grand Jury. But it is to be observed that this enlargement of the Court was brought about only as the result of pressure from public opinion. It had been long overdue.

#### JURISDICTION

The Criminal Court has original jurisdiction of all criminal offenses such as is conferred on justices of the peace. Its jurisdiction, therefore, overlaps that of the Municipal Court in cases of misdemeanor, and these may, and in many instances, in fact, are, taken from the jurisdiction of the Municipal Court by indictment and added to the over-crowded calendar of the Criminal Court. This appears to be due to the insistence of the State's Attorney and is another illustration of the lack of team-play, which in this matter takes in the Municipal Court as well. If the needed cooperation between these co-partners in the administration of criminal justice cannot be brought about, legislation should be sought wiping out this anomalous double jurisdiction in cases of misdemeanor and restricting the jurisdiction of the Criminal Court to felony cases.

We might, perhaps, wisely go further in this direction by effecting a transfer of a substantial part of the present exclusive jurisdiction of the Criminal Court to the Municipal Court. Bearing in mind the fact that over 80 per cent of the daily population of the jail are held for trial in the Criminal Court and that the Municipal Court keeps almost abreast of its calendar, such a transfer of jurisdiction would obviously be in the interests of the swifter administration of justice. What classes of cases should be so transferred could easily be worked out by those who are familiar with conditions in the courts affected by the plan. A beginning could probably be made with larceny cases. These now constitute approximately one-third of all offenses charged and over one-half of all convictions.<sup>(1)</sup> A large proportion of these involve insignificant sums. If the line between larceny and petit larceny were drawn at \$50, or even \$100, and jurisdiction in all cases of petit larceny rested in the Municipal Court, the effect on the overloaded calendar of the Criminal Court would be to reduce it at a stroke to manageable proportions.

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(1) See Miss Abbott's Report.



It may be remembered that the limit of petit larceny in Illinois (\$15) is preposterously low. It is the standard of an eighteenth century community surviving into a time of different values. Most American States have drawn the line to \$50, for simple larceny.

If it should be objected that the penalties within the power of the Municipal Court to inflict are too low to meet the demands of justice in the class of cases referred to, two answers may be made. The first is that many more pleas of guilty would probably be made and many more convictions obtained, and that the greater speed and certainty of the procedure would more than compensate for the lighter sentences which it would be in the power of the court to inflict. A workhouse sentence of a year, with or without the addition of a fine, would probably be a sufficient deterrent in most cases of this kind.

A second answer is that the court should be empowered to impose an indeterminate sentence of not more than three years in all workhouse cases in lieu of the present maximum of one year. A sentence of a year or less is worse than useless, not only because it makes it impossible to carry out any constructive plan for the rehabilitation of the offender but also because it is the germ of the disease or recidivism which brings petty offenders back again and again through the fatal round of the court, the jail and the workhouse.

Not only is the repeater the nuisance of our system of criminal administration through his contribution to the clogging of the wheels of justice, but the practice of sentencing him repeatedly to short terms of imprisonment merely serves to confirm him in his lawless tendencies. Of the 14,709 persons committed to the House of Correction in 1913, nearly half had served one or more previous sentences, 3300, or nearly 30 per cent, were serving their third sentence, and 333, or three per cent, had served ten or more sentences to the same or similar institutions. For these reasons the short sentence should be done away with and the indeterminate sentence substituted for all classes of misdemeanants.

### THE UNIFIED COURT

There are hopeful signs that a more comprehensive solution of the problem of the Criminal Court jurisdiction may soon be attained through the consolidation of the two local courts of criminal jurisdiction into one. The new constitution, to be submitted to the people of the State of Illinois in December next, provides for a unified court of complete civil and criminal jurisdiction for Cook County. If this should become effective, the lost motion and waste of energy, as well as the conflict of jurisdiction, which are characteristic of our present system, will be done away with through the centralized administration which such a unified court will ensure.

If the constitution should be defeated, it will then become the duty of the bar and of all civic organizations and public spirited citizens to press energetically for the creation of such a court as speedily as possible. No other plan holds out sufficient hope of bringing about the coordinated effort which is essential to the efficient administration of justice in a great city.

The unified court represents a wide-spread movement in this country at the present time. A few years ago it was the dream of a few men of vision. Today it is a reality. The best existing example of it is the still imperfect but still admirable "reorganized Recorder's Court of the City of Detroit,"

which was erected in 1920 out of the material furnished by two such courts as divide the criminal jurisdiction of this city and county. Its immediate effect in speeding up the administration of Criminal Justice and cutting down the jail population, is pointedly described by the Honorable William H. Heston, Presiding Judge of the Recorder's Court, in his report for the year ending April 20, 1922. His statement comparing the figures of the disposition of felony cases in the year 1921-1922, the second year of the Court's operation, with those of the year ending 1919-1920, before the new court went into operation, has such a direct bearing on the problem before us that it is here given:

"Delay in the trial and disposition of cases defeats the ends of justice, both in its effects upon the innocently accused as well as upon the guilty. The court has kept abreast of its cases, disposing of them as rapidly as they could be prepared for trial. Continuances for any but legitimate reasons were discouraged by being denied. As a result of this policy, 66 per cent of the felony cases brought into the court during the year were tried within seven days after the arraignment of the defendant.

The promptness with which felony cases are brought to trial is shown by the following analysis of 3338 cases that were tried in the year under consideration.

Number weeks	1921		1919		Cumulative	
	Cases	Per Cent	Cases	Per Cent	1921-1919	
1.....	2189	66	31	2	66	2
2.....	203	6	61	3	72	5
3.....	154	5	95	5	77	10
4.....	252	7	105	5	84	15
5.....	197	6	114	6	90	21
6.....	138	4	123	6	94	27
7.....	64	2	132	7	96	34
8.....	42	1	128	6	97	40
9.....	31	1	371	19	98	59
65-90 days.....	53	1½	137	7	99½	66
90-270 days.....	15	½	265	14	100	80
270-610 days.....	....	...	268	20	...	100
	3338	100	1830	100	...	...

"The above figures show that at the end of 28 days the present court disposed of 84 per cent of the cases after arraignment on a warrant, while under the old organization in 1919 only 15 per cent were disposed of within 28 days. By the end of 65 days, 98 per cent were disposed of in 1921, while in 1919, 59 per cent were disposed of within the same period. In other words, in 1921, only 2 per cent of the cases analyzed were in court over 65 days—in 1919, 41 per cent of felonies were in court over 65 days before being disposed of.

"The benefits of the unified court are particularly apparent in those cases where the defendant pleads guilty to a felony upon arraignment on a warrant. The records show that of the 3338 cases analyzed, 1539, or 46 per cent, were such cases, and accordingly were disposed of the same day that the arraignment on

the warrant was made. Under the old dual court system this would have been impossible because, even after a plea of guilty to a felony upon arraignment in the Police Court, the defendant would be bound over for disposition during the succeeding term of the Recorder's Court.

"Promptness in disposing of cases is reflected in the number of prisoners in jail and in the length of time such prisoners spend in jail before their cases are disposed of. In this connection, it is interesting to note that on March 31, 1920, a few days before the new court took effect, there were 173 offenders in jail awaiting trial. Of this number, 82 or 47 per cent—practically half of them—had been in jail over 25 days; a few 150 days. On March 31, 1922, there were 83 prisoners in jail awaiting trial in the Recorder's Court and of this number only seven or nine per cent were in jail over 25 days."

#### PROCEDURE

The procedure of the Criminal Court leaves much to be desired. Under the law and practice of this state, which have reduced the presiding judge almost to the position of an automaton, the criminal lawyer is given a free hand to work the machinery of the court for the benefit of his client. Rules adopted in another day for the protection of the innocent against arbitrary power have become technical devices for shielding the guilty. The result is that many criminal trials have become a travesty of justice. All this makes for that fatal delay which gives immunity to the guilty and keeps the county jail crowded with men and women who are praying for their day in court.

The preposterous rule which makes the jury the judges of law as well as of fact should be abrogated and the judge restored to his time-honored function of directing the course of trial, of keeping the defendant's counsel within the bounds prescribed by the rules of procedure and the traditions of the bar and of commenting on the evidence in his instructions to the jury. These changes in procedure would not only restore dignity to the judicial administration in criminal cases and thus render that branch of the service more attractive to self-respecting members of the court, but would contribute materially to the aim of expediting the process of criminal justice.

#### (4) THE STATE'S ATTORNEY

It has become increasingly clear, as this study has progressed, that the State's Attorney holds the key to the situation. There can be no marked improvement in the administration of criminal justice, whether from the point of view of efficiency or of even-handed justice, without his active cooperation with every part of the system, from the police to the highest court of criminal jurisdiction. In this respect the organization of his office and the caliber of his staff are as important as his personal devotion to the important duties that devolve upon him. If there is lack of coordination in the system as a whole, he cannot evade the responsibility by putting blame on the courts or on the imperfections of the criminal law. Neither can he acquit himself of his responsibility by an occasional, spasmodic effort to increase the efficiency of his office or of the courts under the pressure of public opinion. His must be a continuous performance. He can defeat the tricky devices of criminals who seek through repeated continuances and in other more devious ways to cheat justice.



He can, if he will, secure the speedy trial of every indicted person, whether in jail or out. Until this has been accomplished, he cannot get out from under the shadow of the County Jail.

## (5) THE CRIMINAL LAWYER

The denial of justice to the poor, of which so much is being said and written these days, is at its worst in the failure of the state to provide competent legal assistance for poor and friendless defendants in criminal cases. Many men and boys are in jail and stay in jail because of the lack of legal aid. Many of those among them who are guilty of the offense charged would plead guilty under competent legal advice. For lack of counsel of the right sort, many are driven to retain the services of members of the class who have been described as "the lowest strata of a no-longer necessarily learned profession."<sup>(1)</sup>

By these their impulse to play the man and take their medicine, if guilty, or to make a fair fight, if innocent, is turned into a desire to beat the game by any dishonorable method that holds out hope of success. The lawyer they choose is the one who has a reputation as a "good fixer," one who has friends in high places or who knows how to manipulate a jury or buy off the complaining witness or secure continuances till all the evidence has disappeared. With good counsel at hand for every one at the time of his arrest the whole complexion of the case would be changed.

The present practice of assigning counsel, who takes no particular interest in the penniless client thrust upon him and who rarely has any knowledge of criminal law or procedure, is a conceded failure, quite apart from the fact that he usually appears on the scene after the damage has been done. No complaint is more frequently heard in the County Jail than that of the neglect of the prisoner and his interests by the counsel assigned to defend him. Proper legal aid would not let a man lie in jail for from three to six months without being heard from in the office of the State's Attorney or in the court, and proper legal aid would secure him a fair trial without abuse of the court procedure.

There is no doubt that the criminal lawyer, who is the partner of crime and who brings the administration of justice into contempt, has rushed in to fill the vacancy left by the neglect of the State. Having come, he will stay until our bar associations attack the problem and the judges are moved to purge the profession by disbarring him. But it is not too late for the State or for the bar to repair the neglect. Either the State must in the interests of justice and fair play furnish the accused with a legal defense, equal in power and authority to that of the State's Attorney, or that duty must be undertaken by the bar of the county. It is for the Chicago Bar Association to say which of these solutions will be adopted for this community.

## II. The Problem of Detention in Cook County

### 1. THE QUESTION OF POPULATION

In the light of the facts heretofore given and analyzed, we should now be prepared to consider the problem of the detention of those members of the community who are held on criminal charges and are unable to give bail. This

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(1) Dean Roscoe Pound in *Columbia Law Review*, May, 1921.



analysis has made it clear that the County Jail is not a self-contained unit in our community life, to be studied by itself in terms of structure and population, but an integral part of the system of criminal justice which the community maintains. The more it is considered, the clearer it becomes that the jail is only a by-product of the other factors of that system and, therefore, a measure of their efficiency. The numbers that it houses and the length of their term of imprisonment are a plain reflection of the adequacy or the inadequacy to their duties and responsibilities of the police, the State's Attorney's office and the Courts, just as the type of jail structure and the treatment which the prisoners receive reflects the intelligence and humanity of the community at large.

The foregoing survey of the administration of criminal justice in Cook County has demonstrated that the population of the jail is largely in excess of what it need be; that thousands are committed to it every year who might better have been left at large, and that the other thousands who are properly detained are unconscionably held in confinement for unnecessary periods of time.

Probably few people realize how decisive a role the length of the period of detention plays in determining the size of the jail population at a given time, which in turn determines the size and character of the structure needed to house it. A few facts, with which this survey has already made us familiar, will make this clear. A total of 10,642 men, women and children made their home for longer or shorter periods in the County Jail during the last year, the daily population ranging from a minimum of 690 to a maximum of 1013. Now, assuming the flow to be a fairly constant one, and the period of detention only 24 hours, the jail would have only 29 people to take care of at any one time; if the stay averaged only a week, the average number to be provided for would be 200; if a month, the number would be 887; if a year, provision would, of course, have to be made for 10,642.

Let us look at the matter from another and less speculative point of view. The Municipal Court is responsible for an enormous intake, from a third to one-half of the annual population of the jail; but, because of the rate at which it disposes of its cases (84 per cent within thirty days after commitment), it contributes less than 100 to the daily population. Now, assume that the Criminal Court, acting in cooperation with the grand jury and the State's Attorney, were to attain a similar state of efficiency in disposing of its cases. That would make another 100, or a total of 200, held for trial at any one time. If we should add to this those held for the grand jury and the federal court and the handful of convicted prisoners held to await transfer to Joliet, Pontiac, etc., we should have a total of perhaps 250. That would allow one man or woman to each cell in the present jail, with a margin of 50 empty cells for emergencies. That this is not an incredible assumption, the facts given above of the success attained by the new Recorder's Court of Detroit in expediting the disposition of felony cases, is clear proof. It is true that these results were obtained by a unified court, but the emergency work now being performed by the Criminal Court with its nineteen judges shows that the same results can be achieved by that court under its present organization and powers, if the will exists to do it.

The foregoing considerations bearing on the jail population of the future take no account of that considerable number of boys and men committed to

the jail because of their poverty, who may, nevertheless, be of such a character as to justify releasing them on their own recognizance, a number estimated at one-third of the total number now held in the jail to await court action. Of the aggregate of 4280 released on bonds in the Criminal Court in 1921, only 96, a trifle over two per cent, received this consideration.<sup>(1)</sup>

Taking a long view of the problem, it would manifestly be a mistake to assume for the future anything like the past and present ratio between the population of the County and the number to be kept in detention to await judicial action. With such an organization of the system of criminal justice as we have at present and without any radical reconstruction of that system, we may, on the contrary, look forward to a large and, for some years to come, a progressive reduction of the number to be so held. With the coming of the unified court of criminal jurisdiction—a consummation that we may confidently anticipate—that tendency will only be confirmed and accelerated.

This is as far as we can see, in the present state of our knowledge. We are living in a time of unprecedented change in our conceptions of the treatment of the crime problem as well as in mechanical and industrial conditions. The next generation is likely to witness a great advance in the development of preventive measure which may materially reduce the volume of crime. The stabilization of industry, with the consequent elimination of wide-spread unemployment, will contribute powerfully to the same result. The psychological and psychiatric study of the delinquent, which is now only in its infancy, may be expected to equip us with new methods of handling an increasingly large percentage of those who now find their way into jail. It would seem, therefore, that the present is a time for caution, for an expectant attitude and for tentative, rather than for confident, final action. The one conclusion that stands out with perfect distinctness is that an enlightened community cannot continue the present policy of drift with respect to the jail problem; that the authorities of the city and county can, with their present resources, promptly reduce the jail population by at least one-half, and that this should be our immediate aim.

The question of the size of the proposed new jail is further affected by the following conclusions which, it is believed, this survey has established:

First. That a jail, which is primarily a place of detention for those who are presumably innocent of wrong-doing, is no place for convicted offenders. It is improper, as well as unnecessary, to give to a house of detention the character of a prison by using it as a place of punishment for lawbreakers. As soon as possible, by amendment of the law where necessary, all convicted offenders of the class now committed to the County Jail should hereafter be committed to the House of Correction:

Second. That a jail for men is no place for women. All women and girls held for the grand jury or for judicial action should be held in a separate detention home for women.

Third. That a jail is no place for the insane, psychopathic and feeble-minded or for those suffering from tuberculosis or other serious physical disease. All of these should be committed to institutions where they can receive the treatment or the custodial care that their condition may require; and

Fourth. That a jail where older prisoners are confined is no place for

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(1) Third Annual Report, Chicago Crime Commission (1922), p. 27.



young boys. All boys under twenty-one years of age should be held in a separate detention home of the type of the Juvenile Detention Home. As these constitute approximately twenty per cent of the entire population of the jail, their elimination will make a material difference in the size of the population to be accommodated in the new jail.

It is thus that the Jail Survey has endeavored to answer the questions submitted by the Board of County Commissioners in their resolution requesting the survey: "The question of just what classes of prisoners should be confined" in the new jail, and the question "whether or not other provision than is now afforded can be made for certain classes of prisoners." As has been seen, the answers fall into three groups:

1. Suggestions for restricting commitments to those who are, after rigid inquiry, found to be presumably guilty of the offenses charged and who cannot, whether under a substantial or a personal bond, be safely entrusted with their liberty while awaiting trial:

2. Suggestions for reducing the number of those confined at any one time by instituting an efficient method of disposing promptly of their cases; and

3. Suggestions for breaking up the large, unwieldy unit, known as the "jail population," into a number of smaller and more manageable units, by distributing the prisoners among a number of separate, specialized places of detention.

What is proposed, therefore, is not so much "a plan for a new jail," as a new program for dealing with those suspected or accused of violations of law and particularly a new system of detention for Cook County. It is only this last that needs to be further considered.

## 2. THE "NEW JAIL"

It will probably be convenient, in outlining the proposed new system of detention, to deal first with the smaller units of detention.

### (1) WOMAN'S DETENTION HOME

The comprehensive report of Mrs. Rich on the detention of the woman offender sets forth in detail, not only the reasons for the proposed plan, but the details of its execution as well. The smallness of the number involved gives this part of the program a quality of definiteness which the others lack. It is not likely that, for many years to come, provision will have to be made for over a hundred women at one time, and this number, as will be seen, includes those now habitually confined in the police stations as well as those in the County Jail.

Briefly, it is proposed that the county authorities for this purpose make use of the building and grounds of the present Juvenile Detention Home on Gilpin Place, which is to become vacant on the completion of the new detention quarters for the Juvenile Court, in the fall. This has ample accommodations for the number of women who may need to be detained and can, at comparatively small expense, be remodeled and equipped for the purpose intended.

The project of a central detention home for women, which should take the place of the police lock-ups as well as of the women's quarters in the jail, is an old one in Chicago and has for many years been studied and urged on the attention of the authorities by groups of interested women, by the Woman's

City Club and by other organizations interested in the welfare and the rehabilitation of the women offender. The acute stage which has been reached in the jail situation and the suggestion of the County Board that special provision might well be made for certain classes of prisoners, seems to present a favorable opportunity for carrying this project into effect without further delay.

The fact that "city prisoners" from the police stations are included in the project along with "county prisoners" from the jail furnishes no real obstacle to the plan. This is made clear in the analysis of the problem which Mrs. Rich's report presents.

It is, therefore, proposed that the plan recommended in this report be adopted.

## (2) BOYS' DETENTION HOME

The argument for the provision of a separate detention place for boys under twenty-one years of age has been given at length in a previous section of this report. As is there pointed out, it is the next and most imperative step in the campaign for crime prevention which was so successfully inaugurated by the Juvenile Court, twenty years ago. The present emergency in the warfare against crime and in the jail, which reflects the condition of the struggle being waged outside, makes this the appropriate time for such a solution. It is proposed, therefore, that the place of confinement of these young offenders shall be a detention home and not a jail. Instead of a single structure of the cell-block type, it should be a group of buildings of an unpretentious sort, neither monumental in character nor jail-like in appearance, erected on an ample piece of ground. The site should, if possible, be selected with reference to the completion of the project of the new Boys' Court already noted in this report. If this is not deemed feasible at the moment, the buildings should be erected on a part of the land selected as the location of the central jail.

The suggestion that the Boys' Detention Home shall comprise a group of buildings is based on the view that in no other way can the necessary classification, separation and treatment of the various grades of intelligence and character that make up the group be made effective. It is important that the physical aspect of the Home shall reflect its real purpose, which is not only to secure detention but training, as well.

## (3) THE CENTRAL HOUSE OF DETENTION

Is it too much to hope that the word "jail," with all its infamous associations, shall be banished from the vocabulary of this community? The shameful history of the jail and the conditions that have given it its evil name have been pointed out in an earlier part of this report. Our attitude toward a thing is so largely determined by the name we employ to describe it that it will be extremely difficult to make a "jail" anything but the thing it has always been—a place of oppression and disgrace. But it is unjust to put the stigma of disgrace on a person who may in fact be innocent of wrong-doing, who has at least an even chance of proving that he was unjustly accused. The only thing that confinement in a jail *proves* is that the prisoner was too poor to buy his liberty. It would seem that if the new place of detention is really to be a new thing, it must slough off the name, as well as the fact implied in the name, of the jail.



It is, therefore, proposed that the central house of detention shall be so designated.

In proposing a new type of detention house in a new location, the Survey is aware that it is disappointing the expectations of many people who have been concerned to find a satisfactory solution of the jail problem. It has been assumed that the new jail should be a building of the usual forbidding type, which would cause the passer-by to shudder and should have upon the person committed the effect of the inscription which Dante read over the portals of hell: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." It has also been assumed that it should be a great structure of the monumental sort, rising in many stories above a place of justice in which the Criminal Court, the State's Attorney, the Sheriff's office and all the other formidable agencies of criminal justice shall find place.

This conception has the merit of a certain unity and simplicity and the attractiveness of architectural dignity. It would be an impressive public building. But it has the great defect of sacrificing the real spirit and purpose of detention to the old conception of the jail. It is true that in the latest plans for a structure of this type, the cells are a great improvement, both in size and arrangement, over those in the older jails and make possible a proper ventilation and in some cases the admission of sunlight. They may also afford a certain opportunity for the classification and separation of prisoners, by placing them on different floors of the building. But, by reason of their uniform cell-block construction, their rigidity and the unnatural, artificial life to which the inmates are condemned, they are still jails—glorified jails indeed, but still of the old inflexible type. Only one kind of treatment is possible in them, for all alike: The iron-discipline of the present county jail. How this type of treatment affects the unfortunate inmates who are subjected to it, the effect it has had in standardizing the life of all at the level of the worst, has been described in a previous section of this report. *May we not say that the jail of the cell-block and the "bull-pen" has had its day and that this community will never have another?*

Another serious objection to this type of structure is its permanent character. It assumes to determine what the Chicago of 1972, or the year 2022, will want in the way of detention quarters and invests millions of dollars on that hazardous assumption. It fixes in stone or steel and concrete our present lack of wisdom with respect to the treatment of the accused and imposes our poor, futile methods on generations to come. The world of fifty or one hundred years from now will build its own life out of the materials of its own time and it will be only modest on our part to let it build its own jails, if it is unlucky enough to have them. Manifestly the same considerations are applicable to this question of the type of building to be erected as were urged above in discussing the jail population of the future. Our vision is limited to our own time and to the few years immediately ahead. We don't know and we cannot forecast what methods of detention and of treatment of those detained will be demanded by another generation. All signs indicate that a new era in the treatment of the delinquent is at hand. For the first time in human history the humanitarian movement, which is at the bottom of the sentiment against the present Cook County jail, is being reinforced or supplemented by a scientific study of the problem of delinquency. What that study will disclose to our successors we cannot guess. All we can do is to leave them a free hand in solving



A "Bull-pen" in the "new" Jail.  
(Flashlight photo by R. P. Burko).



their own problems. They won't thank us if we force our ignorant solutions on them.

This is so vital in its bearing on the problem under consideration that it will bear one or two illustrations. The present jail is an inheritance from a not very remote past. When, in 1894, the old jail being then only twenty years old, public opinion demanded a new and better type of jail, the location and structure of the older building forced the community to accept an addition of the identical type of the old; and it is only now, thirty years after the agitation commenced, that it has been found possible to devise and erect a better type of jail. Sing Sing Prison in New York was erected in 1827-8, and at the time it was built was regarded as the last word in prison construction. As far back as 1840, an agitation existed for its demolition and the erection of a prison of a more humane type. But it was built to last and it is still standing, a monument to the barbarism of the past and to the inertia of the generations that have succeeded that of the builders. Can any one doubt that if a judicious earthquake had laid Sing Sing low in 1840 and the Cook County Jail in 1894, we should all be better off than we are today?

There is another aspect of the older, cell-block type of building that should be referred to, and that is the atmosphere which it fosters. A jail of the cell-block type is a prison, however many "modern improvements" may go with it. A man confined in a cell is a different man from the one who is shut up in a room or dormitory. A man who governs a cell-block prison or jail is a different man from the one who governs a state school for boys or a juvenile or adult detention home. The house in which one lives and rules makes the man even more than do the clothes he wears. The influence is a subtle one but not the less powerful on that account. No one, whether governor or inmate, can withstand it. The one type of structure breeds contempt, tyranny and oppression in the master; servility, shame, resentment and loss of self-respect in the prisoner. The other makes possible, at least, a more equal and human relationship, with helpfulness and understanding on the one hand; self-respect, confidence and co-operation on the other. Whether these results shall be obtained or not in the most favorable type of building will, of course, depend on the man selected to head the institution; but the builders will have done their work if such fruits of the spirit are made possible in the new house of detention.

For these many reasons it has not been deemed wise to recommend the erection of a jail of the type above described, but to urge, instead, the construction of buildings of a less durable and pretentious character and with as little of the prison aspect as possible. Instead of one building to house the entire population, there should, as in the case of the Boys' Detention Home, be a group of buildings erected on a sufficient area of land to provide for expansion in the future. It is estimated that not less than eight or ten acres of land will be required for this purpose, if the Boys' Detention home is erected on the same tract; otherwise, between seven and eight acres, the equivalent of two average city blocks, would probably be adequate. The location of the site should be in as close proximity to the Criminal Court building as possible.

Obviously the type of buildings recommended could not be erected in the same block with the court. This will seem to many a serious objection to the plan. The immediate proximity of the jail and the court house has existed so

long that it has come to be regarded as a natural and inevitable combination. The best that can be said for it, however, is that it is convenient, but this is not a consideration that should stand in the way of a salutary improvement in the system of detention. It is clear that the prevalent impression of the danger of conveying a man from detention to the court and back again is an illusion. The prisoner is arrested by a policeman and taken through the streets to the police court, kept over night, it may be, in the station, and conveyed to the jail the next day. It is not easy to see why, after a few weeks or months in jail, he should have been transformed into a desperate character whom it is unsafe to take out into the street. Considering the character of the jail population, the number of those who would need to be handcuffed in going through or across the street must be very small, indeed. However, if a couple of city blocks opposite the Criminal Court Building could be secured as a site for the House of Detention, the difficulty could be met by constructing a bridge or tunnel over or under the street.

In the foregoing outline of the style of detention quarters to be provided, three points have been mentioned which should be more fully explained. These are the provision of a group of several buildings of moderate size instead of a single big building; the avoidance of the cell-block type of construction, and the need for a considerable area of ground.

1. As to the first of these, the object is the same as that of the similar plan proposed for the Boys' Detention Home, to provide a flexible and adaptable arrangement for the complete separation of the prisoners into groups, each of which shall constitute a distinct community, with its own living quarters, its own play-ground and its own school and work equipment. By a judicious selection of the individuals composing these groups, not only will the clean-minded and decent be effectually shielded from the contaminating influence of the vicious and depraved, but the treatment appropriate to each group can easily be devised and applied. There will be groups where the honor system or some form of self-government may wisely be employed and where the men may for the most part be left to themselves; there will be others where a more vigilant supervision is necessary. These possibilities, so important for the future well-being of the prisoners as well as for the good order and discipline of the institution as a whole, can only be worked out in separate buildings of the cottage type and in separate recreation and work places.

2. The type of detention buildings here recommended leaves no room for the cell-block, but the question still remains whether the cell can wholly be eliminated from such an institution. Probably not. There will, doubtless, have to be cells, not, as now, for the general population, but for the small number of dangerous or desperate characters. The number of these cells need not exceed fifty and, if they are used only to secure those whose known character justifies such extraordinary precaution, it is safe to say that most of them will be empty most of the time. Generally the buildings will be equipped with single bed-rooms and with dormitories accomodating not more than thirty men each, with a sitting or reading room and with a gymnasium and baths in the basement. Does this program invite the criticism that it means "pampering" or "coddling" criminals? The short answer is that these men are not criminals.

3. The area of land demanded is, as has been said, required for future



expansion, but it is even more needed to furnish healthful opportunity for work and play for the prisoners. Gardening and other out-door work should be provided as well as opportunities for baseball and other sports of social character. With a sufficient wall about the entire enclosure it is believed that only a reasonable amount of official supervision will be required to prevent disorder or escapes.

It ought not to be necessary to add the comment that, in view of the oft reiterated fact that the confinement of the inmates, instead of their release on bail, is due solely to their poverty, and of the further fact that a large proportion of them are in fact innocent of any wrong-doing, their detention should be made as little irksome as possible and that every precaution should be taken to safeguard their health and general well-being.

The plan here submitted for a general house of detention to take the place of the present jail is based on the assumption that it is better to spend money for land than for buildings. It has the further recommendation that the initial expense, over and above the cost of the land, will be small and that the several buildings composing the plant can be erected from time to time as needed. A beginning should, of course, be made as soon as funds are available and the land secured. The first cottages to be erected can at once be filled by transfer of the more trustworthy prisoners from the jail, and thus, as the work proceeds and more buildings are completed, further selected groups can be transferred until the jail is emptied. By this means the reduction of the jail population will be well under way long before a jail of the usual type is half done.

This process should not, of course, be unduly delayed. The reason for urging a gradual, instead of an immediate, completion of the plan is the uncertainty as to the number that must be provided for. The immediate and continuous reduction of the numbers held in detention in Cook County is, it will be remembered, an essential part of the program. If this plan is fully worked out through the co-operation of the courts, the grand jury and the State's Attorney, five or six cottages, accomodating, say, sixty men each, may prove to be sufficient for a good many years to come.

It is, perhaps, the flexible character of this plan, its adaptabilty to new conditions as they arise, that constitutes its chief recommendation. There is no alternative but the impossible one of building a jail on a guess as to the number of cells that will be required.

#### 4. CRIMINAL COURT BUILDING

A word should be added with respect to the inadequate and insanitary accomodations provided the court in the Criminal Court building. Former plans for the new jail contemplated the erection of a building which should also make provisions for the court, the Sheriff's office, the State's Attorney's office and the other agencies concerned in the administration of criminal justice in the county. This seems to be implied in the preamble to the resolution of the Board of County Commissioners inviting the Chicago Community Trust to undertake this Survey, where the question is raised "as to just what judicial and governmental agencies shall be housed in the projected new structure or structures."

The conclusions to which this Survey has led have, it is seen, rendered such

a solution impossible. It will of course be feasible, if sufficient land can be secured for both purposes, to erect a building for the Criminal Court on the same tract with the Central House of Detention. If this is not deemed advisable, the court could obtain the necessary facilities by utilizing the site of the present jail for the erection of a substantial addition to the present Criminal Court Building. If and when the unified court of Chicago becomes a reality, the number of judges dealing with criminal cases will be considerable increased. In that event it may be desirable to use the sites of both the Criminal Court Building and the jail for a new court house which will be adequate to the transaction of all the criminal business of the enlarged court. But this is a matter beyond the competence of the Jail Survey and can safely be left to the judgment of those immediately concerned—the judges of the Criminal Court.

### III. THE PROBLEM OF THE OLD JAIL

The old jail is still with us and it is still a problem. The new detention system, however hopefully we may await it, is still only a project. In the meantime the conditions which have been so abundantly set forth in this report continue to exist and the process of poisoning the souls and bodies of the prisoners goes on. It is obvious that everything possible should be done to mitigate these conditions without loss of time, without waiting for the new detention plan to become a reality.

The evils to be remedied fall into two classes. Those resulting from the overcrowding, and those affecting the physical and living conditions in the cells and bull-pens of the jail.

It is respectfully recommend that these shall be dealt with as follows:

#### 1. RELIEF OF OVER-CROWDING

First, that the overcrowded condition prevailing in the jail shall be relieved by the following measures:

1. By transferring the prisoners undergoing sentence in the institution, as far as is possible, to the House of Correction.

2. By utilizing the Juvenile Detention Home in Gilpin Place as a separate place of detention for women, and, as soon as the necessary alterations can be effected, transferring to it all the women held in the jail for court action.

3. By securing control of the John Worthy School for Boys on the Work-house grounds, and, as soon as the necessary alterations can be completed, transferring to it as many of the boys and younger inmates of the jail as the building will accomodate.

4. By ascertaining, through a rigid medical examination of the prisoners, all those who are insane, psychopathic, feeble-minded, tuberculous or otherwise unfitted by disease to remain in the jail, and transferring them to the Cook County Hospital or other suitable institution for custody and treatment.

The importance and feasibility of these proposals, have, with one exception, been made clear in preceding sections of this report. It is believed that the only one that requires justification is the third, relating to the proposed use of the John Worthy School.

The importance of some radical action to relieve the conditions of overcrowding in the jail became evident at the outset of this inquiry and was

strongly confirmed by Mr. Lane's study. It was obvious that the most offensive conditions affecting the health, the moral tone and the general welfare of the prisoners resulted from this state of affairs. It was also obvious that half-way measures, like the removal of the women, the prisoners serving sentence and those mentally and physically diseased, would do very little to relieve the situation. A more wholesale reduction was necessary if the jail was to be materially improved.

In order to deal wisely with this difficult situation Mr. John L. Whitman, the State Superintendent of Prisons, was called into consultation. Mr. Whitman's previous successful experience, as warden of the County Jail, and Superintendent both of the House of Correction and the John Worthy School, while the latter was used as a reformatory for delinquent boys, gave him special qualifications for the task which he generously undertook. The result of his study of the problem is set forth in the report on the Disposal of the Surplus population of the Jail which is appended hereto. This sets forth so fully and persuasively the arguments for the use of the John Worthy School for the contemplated purpose that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here. It is sufficient to say that the structure, which is now unused and empty, can at a moderate expense and in a very short time be adapted to the use of the jail as an annex to take care of approximately 200 prisoners. These, added to the women, the sentenced inmates and the others above specified, will make a total of 300 or more that may conveniently be withdrawn from the jail population. The result of this would be a marked improvement in the tone and temper as well as the general living conditions of the jail population and would make possible a better classification of the remaining inmates and some mitigation of the severity which now characterizes the discipline of the institution.

It is proposed that the prisoners to be transferred shall be selected by the jailer, Captain Westbrook, on the basis of their good behavior and trustworthiness. It is expected, however, that, with only a few exceptions, the boys under 21 years of age will be found available. If these do not fill all the available space, others can be supplied from the large number who are just over 21.

## 2. IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING CONDITIONS

With the cells and bull pens relieved of their congested condition, special attention can be given to such vital matters as increasing the recreation periods, which at present allow the prisoners only four hours out of the twenty-four outside their insanitary cells, furnishing incentives and opportunities for work in the cells and introducing less primitive methods of feeding the inmates. The reports of Mr. Lane, of Doctors Preble and Miller and of the Committee on Jail Diet contain other recommendations for improvements that should be made without delay in the medical and hospital service, in ventilation, in the preparation and serving of food and in many other matters. These all have to do with the present jail and can all be carried into effect by the present jailer if he is supported in his efforts by the County authorities.

Reference has been made above to the way in which an old institution that has long outlived its usefulness will hang for years about the neck of a community and paralyze every effort to get rid of it and substitute something better. The converse of this is also true. A dream of something better will



often benumb the purpose to improve the hateful conditions that we wish to destroy. Sing Sing prison could never have been made fit for human habitation but it could and would long ago have been materially improved but for the fact that for twenty years the New York Legislature has promised a new and better prison in lieu of the old.

This community must not make a similar mistake. A thousand men, women and children are being subjected to the soul and body defiling conditions of the old jail every year. Every day that these conditions continue is an added reproach to the community that tolerates them. The reformation of the old jail is only second in importance to the creation of the new detention system.

There is no danger, however, that the former will stand in the way of the latter. No one need fear that the jail will be so improved as to make it a rival of the hope that inspired this survey. It is doomed, not only by the conditions which have made it a by-word in the community, but even more by the fact that, in its very structure, it represents the dead past instead of the living present.

In various parts of the present report and in the several special reports which are incorporated with it, numerous suggestions and recommendations have been made for the improvement of conditions in the present jail and with respect to the proposed new detention system. These are all, it is believed, of value and importance and, therefore, "worthy of all acceptance." It has not been deemed wise to take these out of the context and present them all together in summarized form. Offered by themselves they might prove more terrifying than convincing. Read in connection with the facts and arguments supporting them, they will, it is believed, have a persuasive effect. There is no danger that they will be ignored or forgotten by those who have at heart the welfare of the victims of the present system and of the community that bears the burden of it.

#### NOTE ON JAIL RECORDS AND REPORTS

The statistical material on which this report is mainly based was compiled from a great variety of records, principally those of the County Jail. These were found to be of such a character that it proved to be impossible to secure much of the information desired, such as facts regarding the prisoner's social and economic status, his previous criminal record, if any, and his medical and disciplinary treatment while in jail. On the other hand, the facts of which the jail records take cognizance were so recorded as to make the process of getting at them extremely difficult and in many cases impossible.

In addition to these defects, which are of interest primarily to the investigator and student of criminal conditions, it was found that the records were defective from the administrative point of view. There was no way in which a jail officer, or any one else whose business it was to inquire, could secure a prompt, accurate and complete statement of the legal status and detention record of a given person now in the jail or who had previously been detained.

For these reasons it was determined to make a study of jail records, here and elsewhere, with the view of suggesting a record-keeping system for use in

the Cook County jail which should, as far as possible, be free from the defects of the present system.

Such a study was accordingly made by Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich and Mr. A. L. Beeley of the jail survey and the results are herewith submitted in the form of a separate report on "Jail Records and Reports." The report suggests new forms for use in the jail, copies of which are attached.

It is hoped that these may not only place the important matter of record-keeping on a more satisfactory basis in the Cook County Jail, but that it may prove to be a contribution to the much needed system of keeping criminal records which students of the crime problem are anticipating as a basis for a comprehensive system of criminal statistics.

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# COOK COUNTY JAIL

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## Its Physical Characteristics and Living Conditions

By

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"Punishment and Reformation".

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## I. POPULATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS

### INTRODUCTORY

The jail of Cook County is an overcrowded, insanitary, disease-breeding place. Located on the southwest side of West Illinois Street, between Clark and Dearborn; it was built in part in 1872 and in latter part in 1895. The section added in 1895 is still called the "new jail," and the other the "old jail." The jail is directly behind the Criminal Court building across an enclosed bridge suspended between the two.

Like all county jails, it is a catch-all for persons accused of crime. A small number of people who have been convicted of minor offenses serve short sentences there. However, by far the greater number of its inmates are merely undergoing detention, awaiting their day in court. The only test of confinement in its overcrowded cells is, in effect, a financial one. Those escape it whose resources, either in money or friends, are sufficient to enable them to raise bail. More well-to-do offenders may spend a night or two in it while arrangements for bail are being made, and some people are there whose offenses are such that no bail is accepted by the courts. But for the most part, the jail is inhabited by the poor.

As large as many prisons for people actually convicted of crime, the jail has a population varying these days from eight hundred to more than a thousand; over ten thousand passed through its doors last year. The length of stay ranges from a night to more than a year. Many men and women are held there for months while their cases are being dragged slowly through the courts.

Who are the people confined there? The real facts are hard to get from the records compiled in jail and court. Among its population are boys who have hopefully come to Chicago from the country and from smaller cities and whose only offense is that they have kept bad company and fallen under suspicion in consequence. Women who have obtained money under false pretenses are confined simultaneously with men charged with bigamy and embezzlement. Youths are held there for having received stolen property, as are men who have committed murder. Among the hundreds in jail are husbands awaiting trial for failure to support their wives and children, persons charged with adultery, vagrants, bootleggers, rapists, delinquent fathers and sodomists.

The first offender is confined with the man or woman whose prison sentences outrun memory in number. The uneducated are housed with the graduates of professional and technical schools. Painters, steamfitters, photographers and railway conductors are confined with physicians, restaurant-keepers, detectives, clerks and telegraph operators. Men with the broken accent of Italy and Turkey occupy cells side by side with native-born English-speaking Americans. The Confucian even finds himself open to argument with the Baptist and the Christian Scientist.



The only common bond among all these people is that most of them, as already noted, are awaiting trial. They have not been convicted of the offenses with which they are charged. So far as the law is concerned, they are still innocent. Indeed, many of them will be ultimately acquitted or discharged without being brought to trial. Of 807 persons in the jail on December 1st, 1920, only 464, or 57.5 per cent, were ever found guilty, the remaining 42.5 per cent were either acquitted or their cases were disposed of in some other way.

Prisoners spend months in the county jail in cells that are no better than containers of foul air. Here two, three, four, and even five men are crowded into space that is hardly adequate for one. Except during four hours each day, when they are herded into dimly lighted, poorly-ventilated "exercise-rooms," where exercise is out of the question, they live, move and have their being in these cells. No work, no education, no opportunity for useful or healthful activity of any sort is provided them, they spend their days in idleness. At night they sleep on narrow bunks slung from the wall or on mattresses laid on the cement floor. They are subjected to a jail diet that is monotonous and repellent; from which they find escape, if they have the money, in food purchased from a private restaurateur operating in the jail, or such as may be sent in to them by their families or friends. They use blankets that may not have been washed for years, and dirt surrounds them on every side. When they become sick they are nursed by two male prisoners who never had any medical experience in their lives before, though there is a physician and assistant physician to look after the more serious cases. For months, these are the conditions that they undergo. There are men in the county jail who have not seen out-of-doors in a year. There are others who, day after day, for months at a stretch, perform all of their acts by artificial light and forget that the sun's rays exist.

#### PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION

The plan of construction of the county jail is simple. The new jail will be first described. Imagine a large stone-walled building, the walls rising to a height of seventy or eighty feet. The floor of this building is cement, and on the floor stands a "block," or row, of cells, thirteen in number. These cells are built of steel. They are placed side by side, but without door or hinge of any sort. Each cell is ten feet long, five feet wide and seven and one-half feet high. The cells open at the end opposite the barred grating, a small sliding door of solid steel being in this end. Facing this row of cells is a second row, exactly like it, the ends with the doors confronting the doors of the opposite cells and the barred gratings being placed toward the windows in the opposite wall. These two rows of cells thus form two sides of a rectangular area on the floor of the enclosure. The distance between the two rows is seventeen feet. Each end of the inner rectangular area is enclosed by heavy grating. The length of this space is sixty-five feet. It is roofed over at a height approximately of that of the cells. This small, cramped, enclosed area is almost totally dark except for electric lights in the ceiling and outside the barred grating at the ends. It is the "exercise yard" of the prisoners. Into it the prisoners step from their cells when their doors are opened for them. Back into their cells they go when the exercise period is over. This movement back and forth from cell to "bull-pen,"

as the exercise area is called, and from "bull-pen" to cell, is the only movement the prisoners have, except on days when they go to court, when they take their weekly baths, when they have visitors and on other such special occasions.

This set of two rows of cells opening into an inner "bull-pen" is thus the unit of construction of the "new" jail. The reader must now place one set of rows upon another in order to complete the picture of the interior of this, the larger, section of the Cook County jail. Except as described below, each set of rows, or tier, of cells, has its own bull pen, thus constituting a separate and distinct floor in the jail. There are seven tiers, reaching almost to the roof, an eighth or top floor being devoted to purposes that will be described later. The space between the cells and the windows is not divided by floors, except between the fourth and fifth tiers of cells. Moreover, the first and second tiers of cells open into a common "bull pen"; the second tier has a balcony running around the side of the "bull pen" and leading to the floor by stairways. The sixth and seventh tiers also open into a common "bull pen." The ceilings of these "bull pens" are correspondingly higher than those of the others.

The arrangement is somewhat different in the old jail, whose walls are built of brick, and which is lower than the new building. Here two rows of cells are placed back to back in the center of the floor, a corridor running entirely around them. This corridor lies between the cells and the outside walls: it is the only unoccupied floor space. Each row contains seventeen cells. There are four tiers in the old jail, reaching to the ceiling. The cell is open at the outer end, the door being made of barred grating. Ventilator holes are at the top and bottom of the inner end of the cell, but the intake for air in the basement has recently been closed up so that the ventilating system installed years ago does not work. Each cell is eight feet long, six feet wide and eight feet high, the cubic air space measuring, therefore, 384 feet. One stretch of the corridor is used as an exercise area or "bull-pen," this being 118 feet long and 19 feet wide.

#### EXERCISE AND THE "BULL-PENS"

The "bull-pens" are overcrowded, poorly lighted, bare. When the jail is as full as it is now, and there seems to be little reason to expect a diminution in its numbers in the near future, between a hundred and fifty and two hundred men are herded into some of the "bull-pens" in the new jail, measuring, it will be remembered, sixty-five by seventeen feet; three and four hundred use the "bull-pen" in the old jail. Practically no light from the windows reaches these inner areas; their cement-floored, low-ceilinged spaces become intolerably hot in summer. There is absolutely nothing in the "bull-pen" for exercise or recreation; not a bench or a stick of any description is to be found. Here prisoners stay four hours every day; they may not remain in their cells on any excuse. In one end of each of the new jail "bull-pens" is an open drain in the floor, around which the men circulate freely, and which is used as a urinal. Efforts are made to keep this deodorized by fresh applications of chloride of lime. The inmates as they stand and circulate about the "bull-pen," spit on the floor until it becomes too filthy to bear description. To see these men herded in these areas is to have the sense of a mob, a mob that is likely to become un-



governable at any time. The men sit on the floor or lean against the walls, talking; they hang on to the chains that extend across the "bull pens" at each end and keep them away from the grated walls; they form in close masses and play such games as "How many fingers up?", the object of which is to see how many persons one man can hold on his back at once, or leap frog. They make a double line and walk slowly around one end of the "bull-pen" in a circle, wedging their way in and out among those who are standing about. The congestion is so great that a man can hardly move without touching his neighbor. Sometimes they shout boisterously and shove one another roughly, though in play. Before the two hours of each exercise period are over, the air becomes foul and heavy. In summer the odor of the men's bodies is strong. Exercise worthy of the name is utterly impossible. The place is fittingly named: it is like nothing so much as a pen crowded with animals.

### LIVING IN THE CELLS

The cell is the man's habitat for twenty hours of the day. It is his home while he is in jail. If the reader will measure off, in the room where he is sitting, a space the size of one of these cells ten by five feet in the new jail, with a ceiling seven and one-half feet high, and eight by six feet in the old jail, with a ceiling eight feet high, he will realize what this means. *Let him now remember that practically none of these cells are occupied singly; there are either two men in each cell, or three, or four, or, in the worst periods of overcrowding, five.* A conservative statement of the amount of air space per person necessary for health is 500 cubic feet, as the testimony of physicians elsewhere in this report show. A cell in the new jail has 375 cubic feet, one in the old 384. If two men occupy a cell, each has approximately 190 cubic feet; if three, 126; if four, 95; and if five, 76. Moreover, the allotment of 500 cubic feet is based upon a through-and-through ventilation or passage of air, and these cells have no such ventilation.

Not all of the cells are available for prisoners. There are 136 cells in the old jail and 144 (exclusive of the 36 in the women's section) in the new, making a total of 280. Some of these are used for service purposes. So inadequate is the construction of the jail that on some tiers a cell has been set aside for storing mops, pails and other articles used in cleaning. One cell serves as an office in the old jail; two as special toilets; four for "observation purposes," six as "island" cells, i.e., for solitary confinement, and three have until recently been assigned to the use of the man who runs the private store. There are thus about 260 cells available for male prisoners. Assuming that two men in a cell is proper housing, which it is not, not all of these are available for doubling up, since some of them are set apart for drug addicts, venereal cases, tubercular patients, etc. On March 17th, there were 114 cells in the jails with three men in each and 69 with four men in each. Shortly before some of the cells had contained five men.

The "island," or row of six cells used for solitary confinement, is on the top floor of the old jail. Men are sent to these cells for punishment. The cells are open in front. They have no cots, the occupants sleeping on mattresses on the floor. The "hole" or single cell used for severer punishment, is in the wing. This is equipped with a solid door, which is shut against the occupant, so that he has no light and little air. Here he subsists on a bread and water diet and is allowed neither mattress nor blanket, sleeping on the stone floor.





**Four prisoners sleeping in one cell.**  
(Flashlight photo by F. P. Burke).

The cell is the man's living room, dining room and bedroom. In one end of it is a stationary toilet. There is also a small wash-basin with running water. The beds are slung from the side of the wall, like bunks; they remain protruding out into the cell during the daytime, filling half the cell. The jail has become so inadequate in capacity that these shelf-like beds, two in number, have been removed from many of the cells and three-decker bunks have taken their places, an extra space for sleeping thereby being gained. Mattresses are of straw; each man is allowed one blanket, a sheet, a pillow slip and a towel. Here and there about the cell, string has been strung up as a place for drying towels, shirts and other bits of clothing; small articles are washed in the cell. Each man puts his belongings wherever he can find place for them, in his mattress, under his pillow, beneath the bed and on the floor, or elsewhere. Sandwiches and other food sent in from the outside are cached in such spots, attracting vermin. Men lie on the bed, read, talk, write letters crouched on the lower bunk, with their shoulders hunched forward to escape the upper bunk, and spend the time as best they can. A single electric bulb hanging just outside the cell gives practically the only illumination that some cells receive. One must sit close to the barred grating to read by it. When three or four men in a single cell try to read at the same time, it is impossible for all of them to crowd close enough to the grating to succeed.

At night conditions are also serious. The air, due to the inadequacy of cell ventilation, is likely to become very bad. Overcrowding again leads to discomfort. If there are as many bunks as there are occupants, all goes well. In cells where there are more people than bunks, those who have been in jail longest, take the bunks by a kind of right of seniority. The others dispose themselves on the cement floor. If the number of extra persons is but one, he lays his mattress on the floor clear of the bunks, the space between them and the opposite wall being just large enough to permit this. If there are two extra people, the second has no choice but to push his mattress under the lowest bunk and crawl in on top of it; here, if he is lucky, he will pass the night without giving his head a bump, since only a few inches separate it from the lower side of the bunk above.

#### COMPULSORY IDLENESS

No useful activity or work of any sort is permitted in the cells. This is the result, in part, of the fact that persons awaiting trial cannot be compelled to work, and, in part, of the fear that any occupation, especially one involving the use of implements or tools, would become a cover for attempts to escape or other misconduct. The effect is to condemn these men to a continued and enervating idleness. They cannot read and write letters forever. If their stay in jail lasted for a few days, or for a week or two, the consequences would not be serious, but the stay of most of them is measured by months, instead of days or even weeks. There are people who have been in the jail for over a year without turning their hands or their brains to a single activity. Clandestine attempts at such activity are discouraged. Recently a man constructed a crude but ingenious violin in his cell; he was promptly reprimanded and the instrument was taken from him. Another prisoner, a young man, had served in the navy and there had learned to make pocketbooks and other

trinkets with string; a guard discovered him plying his small skill, confiscated his product and ordered him to desist. The prohibition is complete and no exceptions are allowed. Despite this, attempts at escape are numerous enough. There is a well-known maxim to the effect that idleness produces a mind more bent on mischief than activity does. Certainly men are more likely to brood and grow resentful, to imagine wrongs and to plan vengeance, when they have nothing to do, than when they are busy. The difficulty of giving inmates of the present jail any opportunity for useful work is one of the strongest arguments for a new building. Meanwhile, some method should be devised for permitting them to engage in such harmless occupations as they desire while they are confined in the existing structure.

#### UNCLEANLINESS

The jail is not clean. The floors of the "bull-pens," corridors and other open spaces are washed daily by a squad of prisoners and do not present a very dirty appearance, but the apparent cleanliness is only superficial. Other places, such as the cells, are seldom, if ever, thoroughly cleaned; the dirt of successive "generations" of prisoners has accumulated until thorough cleaning would now be almost impossible. Vermin constitute the usual menace here as in other places of this sort, and when they become too thick a spray is applied to cut down their numbers. Incoming prisoners, after being carefully compelled to take a bath, put on again the clothing they wore when they entered the jail, so that this cleansing process is little more than a polite fiction. Each incoming prisoner spends his first night in the receiving wing, where he receives from his predecessor, and leaves for his successor, whatever dirt, animal or otherwise, was brought in by them. Moreover, the sheets and pillow slips in the cells in the receiving wing are changed only once a week, so that it is quite possible for six men to use the same bed linen without change or washing; indeed, this admittedly often happens. Blankets through the jail generally have been washed only when someone thought it ought to be done. There are hundreds of blankets in the cells today that have not been washed for two years. A belief to the contrary exists in some quarters, but the records in the laundry, faulty though they are, do not substantiate the belief, and the testimony of those who have most to do with the washing is that only a small number of the blankets have been washed in that time. Finally, linen from persons receiving treatment for venereal disease, from tuberculosis patients, from the hospital and from all other sources, is washed in one common mass; no separation is made of that used by sick or diseased prisoners from that used by the well.

#### LACK OF VENTILATION

The deplorable atmospheric conditions of the jail, the foul and heavy air resulting from the overcrowding of the cells and bull-pens, to which reference has previously been made, is due in large part to the neglect for many years past of the most elementary principles of ventilation. Originally provision for ventilating the cells was made. In the old jail, where the cells are back to back, a ventilating shaft was constructed up the inner wall, between the two rows; two holes, one at the top and one at the bottom of each cell, connected with this shaft. This device still remains, but the basement windows, which were the intake for the fresh air that was supposed to pass through the shaft, have re-



cently been bricked up, (all but three of those originally provided were bricked up some years ago), so that the shaft is not now fed with fresh air; the small amount that reaches it from two small windows in the basement of the new jail is negligible.

A more elaborate ventilating system installed in the new jail has not been used for more than eleven years. It was partially torn out and discarded when additional windows were built in the walls and forced ventilation was regarded by the authorities as no longer necessary; these windows do not, of course, secure proper ventilation of the cells themselves. Owing to the great expense involved, the restoration of this ventilating system would now be impracticable.

The present condition should not be allowed to continue. It is strongly recommended:

1. That the intake of fresh air for the ventilating shaft in the old jail be restored by either unbricking a sufficient number of the basement windows to give an adequate draft, or by providing some other means of securing an intake.

2. That oxyacetylene or electric torches be used to make holes in the inner metal walls of the cells in the new jail, the walls facing the bull pens. The enclosure of these cells on three sides, and the lack of a through passage of air has already been commented upon. A large number of small holes can either be burned through this metal or a single large hole can be made. This hole will simply open on to the bull-pen and will not affect the security of the prisoners' confinement. It will give through ventilation. The jail engineer says that this is entirely practicable and will not entail too disproportionate an expense.

3. That certain windows, now seldom opened, be opened oftener.

#### POVERTY OF DAILY LIFE

The daily routine of prisoners shows the poverty of life at the jail. At 6:30 in the morning everyone is supposed to rise and dress; the lights just outside the cells are flashed on from a central switch and the day begins. The beds are made by the prisoners, each man making his own bed, or, if there are not enough bunks or "decks" in his cell to go around, gathering his blankets up from the floor where he has been sleeping and placing them in a neat pile. Hands and faces are washed at the wash-basin in the cell. Breakfast comes at 7:15. A gang of prisoners from the kitchen passes along the corridors with large cans of coffee; each can has a spout, and through the barred grating of the cell coffee is poured into each prisoner's cup. This cup of coffee, with a roll or one or more pieces of bread, comprises the whole breakfast. The roll, or "duffer" as it is called, or the bread, is placed on the bars and the prisoner takes it into the cell. The coffee is then drunk and the duffer or bread eaten by the men sitting on their beds or standing. The store, a privately run concession in the jail, details about which are given in the section on "Food," supplies coffee with milk and sugar in it, and sweet rolls for breakfast. This, of course, is only for prisoners who can pay. The store makes its rounds just before the jail breakfast is served.

Breakfast over, the men remain in their cells until 9:30, when the first "exercise" period begins. For two hours, or until 11:30, they then congregate in the bull-pens; the description of this part of their day has already been given. The cells are completely empty during this period, no prisoner being allowed to stay, the reason being that the guards are not numerous enough

to watch the cells while the men are in the bull-pens. As a matter of fact, the supervision during the night and at other times is not nearly vigilant enough to prevent men from working on their bars with saws or doing other things that might be regarded as improper or dangerous from the administrative point of view.

When a guard raps loudly at one end of the bull-pen, the exercise period is over. The doors from the bull-pens into the cells are then opened and the men go back into their cells. The mid-day meal is served immediately. Carts are wheeled past the cells along the corridor and from these a pan is served to each man; on this, his whole dinner is placed. The pan is shoved along the floor under the grating and he receives it inside the cell. Each prisoner is allowed two slices of bread at noon, and these are placed upon his cell bars, for him to take off. He eats his meal seated upon the bed or standing beside it and resting his pan on the blanket in front of him. Odors of food cling to the blanket, and this practice of having all meals eaten in the cell adds, of course, to the difficulty of keeping the cell clean; not only are bits of food often spilled upon the blankets, but vermin are attracted and are hard to get rid of.

The store operates at noon, also. Since the county supplies no sweet of any sort, the storeman finds his best business to lie in providing pieces of pie, which the prisoners purchase for dessert; he also peddles at noon, coffee and milk in bottles. Many prisoners, as told elsewhere, do not even take the jail meal into their cells; they eat whatever may have been sent in to them by friends or relatives, or depend upon the offering of the store, scanty though it is, expecting to buy more substantial food in the evening, when the store supplies a more varied choice.

Afternoon exercise period begins at 1:30. Again two hours are spent in the crowded, badly lighted bull-pens. At 3:30 the men return to their cells. From then until 9:30 in the evening there is nothing for them to do. The whole of this dreary time is spent in such idle gossip as they can devise, or in brooding over their fate, or in writing letters or reading; since the county makes no effort to give them anything worth while to read, they are dependent upon the daily newspapers or such books or magazines as are sent in to them. The crowding of three, four and even five men into a single cell becomes especially irksome at this time, since a man can hardly move without touching or inconveniencing another man and the congestion tells on the nerves of all. Irritation is the inevitable result; it is surprising that violent outbreaks of temper and actual fighting do not occur more often than they do. For six hours men who are used to the variety and vigorous movements of a city life, are cooped up in a space that any single individual would find confining. They are kept there not for those six hours only, but when night comes they stretch out and go to sleep on the same spots where they have been sitting all day long. They awake in the morning with little opportunity to move, except to sit up in the places where they have been lying. And this, be it remembered, is the routine not of a few days only, but of weeks and months. This is an utterly atrocious and unnecessary situation. It is far better designed to make criminals of men, than to induce men to cease being criminals. Something constructive should be introduced into their lives during confinement; they should have an opportunity to utilize the leisure forced upon them by the county, in ways that will strengthen them when they again face the world.



The cell lights are turned out at 9:30, and everyone is supposed to go to sleep. The day is over, to begin again at 6:30 the next morning when a repetition of the routine just described occurs.

No education, no useful work, no recreation worthy of the name and substantially no physical exercise are given these men and boys. They are allowed to write as many letters as they want to (provided they have stamps and stationery), to receive letters and to be visited two days a week. Religious services are held for them on Sunday and they bathe once a week. These are the only interruptions of their idleness. A small number of men, as described elsewhere, are used in unskilled work about the jail. The religious services, held in the bull-pens during the Sunday exercise period, do not enlist the active interest of the majority of the prisoners. The men and women, belonging to several groups and denominations, who conduct these services, doubtless have the welfare of the prisoners at heart, but the services are carried on for the most part in a stilted, perfunctory manner and are not calculated to meet either the interests or the intelligence of most of the hearers. An opportunity for very real service is being missed here.

That characteristic institution of the American jail, the Kangaroo Court, exists here also. Adopted partly as a relief from the monotony of prison life, partly to protect the community from the nuisance of nonconformity to its requirements, it has here, as elsewhere, degenerated into an instrument, sometimes of rude justice and occasionally of horse-play. Each bull-pen has its own court. Its Chief, or Judge, is usually an old-timer and the minor officials are appointed by him. Its proceedings are followed with interest but its meetings are too infrequent and its influence too slight to make it an important element in the life of the Jail.

#### "WORKERS" AND "RUNNERS"

A small number of prisoners perform the more menial tasks about the jail. At present, the number so employed is about sixty-five. They are called by two names, "runners" and "workers"; in effect, these correspond to the so-called "Trusties" in many jails, i.e., men who are regarded as sufficiently dependable to be allowed somewhat greater freedom of movement within the jail than others, but an aversion to the use of the word "trusty" in the Cook County jail has led to the use of the words "runner" and "worker." The runners are messengers who go from one part of the jail to another with messages. The tasks performed by the workers are various. Among them are washing down the corridors, stairways, bull-pens, and other parts of the jail; assisting in the laundry, kitchen and bakery; helping in the bundle cages, where incoming packages are searched for contraband articles; delivering meals to prisoners in their cells and collecting uneaten food afterwards; acting as hospital attendants, and working for the store that sells articles to prisoners. Four prisoners work in the paint gang and one, who acts as jail tailor, repairs mattress covers, blankets, etc. These men take their exercise at other times than the main body of prisoners and so have bull-pens that are less crowded.

Sentenced men, so long as there are enough to go around, are chosen for these tasks. This is partly because they are likely to be in the jail longer and partly because, being convicts, the state has a right to require work of them.



A few persons awaiting trial are called upon for these duties when the number serving sentences is not sufficient.

The use of prisoners for this work is entirely commendable. There are plenty of men in the jail, now idle, who would be glad to be similarly employed.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The bull-pens may easily be used for a greater portion of the day than at present. Bad as they are, they are better than confinement for twenty hours of the day in the cells. A third exercise period might be arranged after the evening meal, for example. Again, it would be possible for half of the prisoners to use the bull pens at one time and half at another time. By devising a system of four daily periods—say from 9:00 to 10:30 and from 10:30 to 12:00 A.M., from 2:00 to 3:30 and from 3:30 to 5:00 P.M., or employing the evening hours if necessary—half of the prisoners could occupy the bull-pens for two periods and half for the other two. There would be far greater possibilities of exercise in this arrangement, since the number in the bull-pens at one time would be much reduced; this advantage would, it is believed, more than make up for the shortened total period for each man. If more guards are required to put such a plan into effect, they should be employed.

2. When asked what the chief defects of the jail are, a number of prisoners replied: "Those who want education should be given some opportunity for it." A room admirably fitted for school purposes exists on the eighth floor of the new jail. It is called the "school room" because it was once used for some purpose of instruction. A blackboard runs along one wall.

Many of the younger prisoners are first offenders and find their arrest and confinement a period of very serious reflection; they are brought up against the hard facts of life in a way that is calculated to make them consider their own lives and the future ahead of them. To seize this mood as an opportunity for giving them some worthwhile instruction is a chance that the county ought not to miss. Classes in the branches of an elementary education and in vocational and manual work ought to be formed. The Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Peter A. Mortenson, heartily approved of this plan when it was suggested to him, and thought that it would be possible for a teacher or teachers to be supplied. This recommendation, like others in this report, has value for the new jail that Cook County so much needs. At present the "school room" is used as an exercise space for younger prisoners and is idle all but four hours of the day.

3. It is of the greatest importance either (1) that the prisoners should spend as little of the day as possible in their cells, or (2) should be allowed some useful way of occupying their hands and minds while there. Although suggestions to accomplish the first of these have already been made, it is probable that as long as the present jail is retained, many hours of the day will be spent in the cells. Some way should be found for giving the prisoners simple tasks to perform in their cells; this labor cannot be compulsory, since all but a few prisoners are merely awaiting trial. Some prisoners would now engage in handicraft work of various sorts if permitted. Reference has already been made to the man who made a violin and the other who made a pocketbook, both being immediately ordered to desist. There is a fixed rule against anything of this sort

being done in the cells or anywhere else. The consequence is that prisoners resent what seems to them an arbitrary prohibition against harmless activities, and an enforced and entirely unnecessary idleness. Occupations of a sort that can be carried on in the cramped quarters of a cell have been devised in prisons; many bedside occupations in hospitals might lend themselves to this use also. It is strongly recommended that Cook County encourage some of these occupations among prisoners in the county jail.

4. There should be greater diversity in the recreational life of the prisoners. Small entertainments, talks and other amusements could be easily arranged; these could be both recreational and educational in effect. Occasional addresses by outsiders who know how to talk to the class of persons confined in the jail could be given in the bull-pens, where religious services are now conducted. Professional entertainers in Chicago would probably be glad to donate their services, if asked. Motion picture shows might be given once a week, or oftener, in the school room.

Talent among the prisoners themselves might be called upon. This is successfully done, under proper supervision, in many correctional institutions and in a population the size of that of the Cook County jail a number of persons capable of entertaining their fellow prisoners would probably be found. Indeed, a precedent for this exists in the use of prisoner talent at New Year's entertainments. Singing, humorous monologues, the acting of comedy parts and other diversions could be arranged.

The handling of this feature of jail life might well be entrusted to a prisoners' committee. This committee could arrange programs, correspond with outside entertainers, "discover" local talent among the prisoners, and make the necessary arrangements in the jail for holding entertainments. It could be given a place to meet. The work of such a committee would have to be closely supervised, especially at first, and both tact and ingenuity on the part of the jailer would be required to make it a success.

5. There is a jail yard containing upwards of 4000 square feet. At present this is largely unused space, patrol wagons driving in here to discharge prisoners and the automobiles of county officials being parked here. Some method could be devised for giving prisoners—a large number of selected ones—if not all—outdoor exercise in this area. A small expenditure would be necessary to make the yard escape-proof.

6. The serving of meals in the cells should be abolished if possible. Boards placed upon standards could be set up in the bull-pens, which could be used as mess halls. These tables could then be taken down and put in one end of the bull-pens when other activities were going on there. This plan would require a willingness to assume a little extra work; most of this could be done, however, by prisoners. The importance of doing away with the serving of food in the cells, both from the point of view of cleanliness and the general healthfulness of the prisoners, justifies overcoming any difficulty that might be encountered. Women prisoners now eat all of their meals in one of their bull-pens.

7. Better ventilation should be secured, as already pointed out, by (1) restoring the intake for fresh air in the old jail, (2) making holes in the inner walls of the cells in the new jail, thus affording a through passage of air, and (3) opening occasionally some of the windows that now remain closed nearly the year around.



8. There should be more frequent washing of blankets. Every incoming prisoner should have clean bed linen. The use of tooth paste or dental wash of some kind should be permitted; this is now denied, presumably because the introduction of tooth paste into the jail lends itself to the smuggling of dope. The jail can issue the tooth paste itself and so guard against that possibility.

9. Linen from sick prisoners and those undergoing treatment for infectious and contagious diseases should be washed separately.

## II. DIET AND FOOD SERVICE

### GENERAL

The Cook County jail is typical of institutions of its kind in its treatment of the food problem. County jails are still, in most American communities, the principal source of income of the sheriff of the county, such income being derived from the savings he is able to effect at the expense of the health and comfort of the inmates of the jail. Up to a recent period this system operated to add to the \$6000 salary of the sheriff of Cook County, an illegitimate profit of \$30,000 per annum representing the difference between the amount appropriated for feeding the prisoners and the amount actually expended by him for that purpose. This peculiarly dishonorable species of graft was, after a long fight, led by the Citizens' Association of Chicago, abolished by act of the Legislature in 1909. Since that time all food supplies for the jail have been purchased by the County Board, leaving to the Sheriff only the function of preparing and distributing them to the inmates. The manner in which this duty is performed is the subject of the present inquiry.

If it is admitted that the health of prisoners should not be impaired while they are in the custody of the county, food becomes one of the most important items in their general welfare. For people who are living the abnormal life of confinement in the cells of the present jail, diet is especially important; the kinds and amount of food needed by them may differ from those needed by persons in another environment, but the care taken to make sure that their food is adapted to the requirements, should be greater if anything, rather than less. It is a common error of custodial and correctional institutions to give little thought to the nourishing and palatable qualities of food, and Cook County jail has been typically negligent in this matter. Meals are made up in a haphazard way, food is cooked and served unappetizingly, essential elements of diet are omitted in the name of problematical minor economies, and men suffer from the monotony, unattractiveness and actual indigestibility of what they eat.

The consequence is that a private commercial store, run within the jail for profit, makes capital out of the needs of the prisoners. Prisoners are forced to buy from it what the county fails to furnish them. This store is a species of concession. It overcharges for many articles of food and seems to have become a kind of irremovable institution; its presence can even be used as an excuse for not giving a jail diet that is more adequate and nourishing. Some foods may also be sent in to prisoners by friends or relatives on the outside.

### BREAKFAST

As already described, prisoners receive three meals a day. Breakfast consists solely of a large cup of coffee, made without sugar and with a quantity of



milk that "hardly changes the color," and bread or a single roll or "duffer." The ingredients of these, as itemized by the chief cook and the baker, are given later; they are entirely inadequate. No butter and no butter substitute is served with the bread or duffer. This is a poor meal with which to start the day.

#### DINNER

The mid-day meal, served between 11:30 and 12.00 is the chief meal. It follows a plan of weekly rotation; that is, the same food is served every Monday, the same every Tuesday, etc. This is entirely unnecessary and is due simply to the lack of initiative or lack of interest on the part of the jail authorities. It adds monotony to the other undesirable features of the regimen. The weekly dinners, as given by the chief cook, are as follows:

Monday—Corned beef hash; peas.

Tuesday—Frankfurters; carrots and potatoes.

Wednesday—Meat stew with macaroni in it. The stew has no vegetables and is thickened with flour. Dumplings are usually added to the women's portion.

Thursday—White beans; potatoes and carrots.

Friday—Fish, usually salmon or cod; always cold storage. The fish is baked in cotton seed oil and bread crumbs. Potatoes and hominy complete this meal.

Saturday—Corned beef and cabbage; boiled potatoes.

Sunday—Beef stew; the vegetables in the stew are usually potatoes, and turnips, or either rice or macaroni.

Vegetables are not always the same; those served on one Monday may differ from those served on another Monday, though the above pattern is the one largely followed. It will be noticed that there is only one fresh vegetable in this layout, cabbage, and that is served only once a week. Two slices of bread are added to the noonday meal, but more can be had if wanted. These meals are prepared by steaming the food in large cauldrons. That is an easy way of cooking; it is unappetizing and, when one subsists for months on food so cooked, excessively monotonous. Moreover, nutritive value is lost by this process; there should be more baking and roasting of meats. The cook sometime braises the meat, which tends to hold some of its tastiness, but in general, steaming is altogether too largely resorted to.

On a day when fish and vegetables constituted the meal, count was taken of the number of prisoners who ate it. After the kitchen cart had passed along one corridor, the cells were inspected. It was found that of the twenty-six men in these cells, twenty refused to eat the fish entirely, not even allowing the pans to enter their cells; they were either depending upon food that had been sent in from the outside or were expecting to buy from the store in the evening and make up the day's sustenance in that way. Of the six who permitted the fish to enter their cells, four ate practically none of it. Yet this fish, said one of the prisoners, was "better than it most generally is." Another declared that he had been in the jail a month and had eaten only one mid-day meal during that time; he preferred to spend his money on the store.

There is an enormous waste of jail foods. Prisoners often push their pans back into the corridor with the contents hardly touched or but partially eaten. This is costly to the county and shows that the food is not serving its purpose.

An estimate by the storekeeper placed the quantity of uneaten food sent away from the jail every week at between two and three tons; this is given to some concern that carts it away and uses it.

It would well repay the county to investigate the amount and causes of this waste and to take steps to diminish it.

#### SUPPER

The evening meal consisted solely, until recently, of a kind of soup and bread. Mr. Westbrook has ordered that coffee, made as in the morning, be substituted for the soup three nights a week; the soup is not now served when coffee is. The foundation of the soup is invariably split peas, to which is added vegetables left over from dinner; beef bones are thrown into it for the sake of whatever flavor they may add. The men protested so generally in regard to this soup that the substitution of coffee was decided upon. As much bread as can be eaten is given to each man, again without butter.

#### THE JAIL BREAD

The bread is not nutritiously made. It and the "duffers" are made from the same batch of dough, prepared in the jail bakery in the basement. The ingredients of the 1200 pounds of dough constituting one day's batch were itemized by the baker as follows: 750 pounds of flour, described by the baker as "not at present of the best quality"; 265 pounds of water;  $\frac{1}{2}$  gallon of milk;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pounds of sugar; 9 pounds of salt; 6 pounds of yeast;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gallons of cottonseed oil. A commercial baker to whom this recipe was shown declared that the amounts both of milk and sugar were proportionately far too small; he said that the food value of the bread was far below that commonly made by ordinary bakers. The bread is heavy and quickly grows stale. When taken from the oven the loaves are placed upon open racks in the basement, where dust can gather upon them. At the time of this investigation the baker was complaining that rats were getting at the bread during the night; each morning, he said, he had to throw away a number of loaves that were partially eaten by them. Cockroaches were seen upon the bread also. A large cat used one of the racks as a resting place when no bread was on it.

The one and a half pounds of sugar put into this bread is all the sweet that the 900 prisoners receive in their jail food; they are given no fruit of any kind and no other sweet enters into their dietary in any form. Sugar, in proper amount, is one of the most essential and cheapest forms of food, as Dr. Preble and Dr. Miller point out in their report elsewhere. The failure to provide it is one of the most reprehensible neglects in the whole treatment of these inmates.

The milk, according to the chef, is not good. "Water must get into it somewhere along the line," he says. "If there's ever any cream on it, I don't ever see it." Powdered milk might well be used in baking bread. It is cheaper, cleaner and more nourishing than milk of the quality that is being used. The county should not allow itself to be cheated, however, in the quality of milk for which it pays. Tests should be made periodically to ascertain the quality and to make sure that the milk is up to standard.

#### THE JAIL COFFEE

The coffee is made by using twenty pounds of coffee in 125 gallons. This

is not enough, thinks the chief cook. He thinks that forty pounds would be more adequate. No sugar is used, as already stated. The milk put into this quantity of coffee varies from four to six or seven gallons, according to the amount in the can when it is delivered to the kitchen; milk for the guards coffee usually comes out of the can before the prisoners are served. This milk, says the chief cook, "hardly changes the color" of the coffee. He questions also the quality of the coffee received; it is likely to be roasted too hard, he says, so that when made, the coffee has a bitter taste. An examination of one sack tended to bear out this statement.

#### SOME DAMAGING FACTS

The chief cook and his two assistants were remarkably frank in talking about the quality of food and its preparation. They are paid employes who evidently have some professional pride. "We have hardly had a good bean to cook lately," said one. "The beans must be very old; sometimes it is impossible to make them soft. Beans should not be eaten unless they are soft." The hardness of the beans is a serious fault; it is essential that they should be made soft to be digestible. Constipation, indigestion and other physical disturbances follow the eating of hard beans, and the prisoners complain greatly of the amount of constipation they suffer. The life they lead in jail requires that their food should be easily digestible, a fact that does not seem to have been considered in the county's dietary regimen. "If I could only have a bit of pork or ham to cook with the beans," said the chief cook, "they would be much more palatable."

The fish received at the jail was spoken of with especial bitterness by the chief cook, as well as by the prisoners. It is prepared in cottonseed oil, presumably for the sake of economy; this is likely to give it an offensive odor. All the fish used is frozen; sometimes, according to the chef, it has become bad when it is cooked. The fish served to the prisoners Friday, March 24th, 1922, was received at the jail Wednesday, March 22nd. An inspection of the crates in which it came showed that they were marked: "Cold storage, received October 25, 1918." The fish had been in cold storage, therefore, for three years and five months. "You wouldn't be able to eat the fish sometimes," said the cook, "I can't eat it; it ain't fit to eat. The prisoners have to eat it or nothing."

Macaroni is always cooked without cheese. Nearly all of the beef received is chuck beef. One of the assistant cooks said that it is usually very tough. "We take the beef that is served to the guards for supper from the same lot that goes to the prisoners," he said. "It is cooked for more than six hours and even then it is sometimes tough to chew."

Butter is served to the prisoners only two or three times a year, on Christmas and one or two other holidays. With the exception of cabbage, fresh vegetables are practically never given to them; the county poor farm supplied the jail with spinach twice last summer. With this source of supply, it seems inexcusable that fresh vegetables are not regularly supplied for the use of the jail inmates during the season.

"We are supposed to eat at the jail during hours," said an assistant cook, in summing up the situation. "I can't do it. I would ruin my stomach. I make myself a cup of tea at noon here and the other meals I eat at home."



## THE STORE

Many persons in the jail spend from \$3.00 to \$6.00 a week on the store. This sells other things than food, such as cigarettes, matches, writing paper, stamps, newspapers, soap, etc. Among its foods are coffee, bottled milk, sweet rolls, pie, syrup, doughnuts, various kinds of sandwiches, and canned goods; the coffee contains both sugar and milk and the canned goods include sardines, baked beans, spaghetti, etc. Three cells on the ground floor of the old jail have heretofore been set apart for the accomodation of the store, in one of which there was a gas range for light cooking. The use of these cells diminished the space available for prisoners; the jailer was therefore putting up a brick partition in the old jail, while this study was in progress, making another room for the store.

The store is a private concession, operated for the profit of its proprietor. How it sends food around the jail to the men in the cells at meal time has already been described. The inmates may also give their orders to its runners for sandwiches and certain easily cooked dishes, which are delivered to them. What arrangement, if any, the proprietor makes in order that he may retain this privilege is not known; apparently this is a mystery to those directly in charge of the jail. The proprietor pays no rent as such, presumably, for the space he occupies; his helpers are, with the exception of one, prisoners who receive no pay; and his other expenses are negligible. Whether he or the county pays for the gas consumed by him in cooking is also not known. Many of the articles sold by him are bought at wholesale prices. He has practically a monopoly of the business afforded by from 800 to 1000 people, many of whom receive a good deal of spending money from friends and relatives on the outside. No accurate statement of his profits can, of course, be made, but it is commonly believed about the jail that he does an excellent business.

Some of the prices charged to the prisoners are, according to an inquiry conducted by Mr. Westbrook, exorbitant. This inquiry showed a comparison between the prices charged by the store for some of the articles sold by it with the retail prices charged on the outside:

	Prices charged at jail store	Retail prices outside
Coffee (per cup).....	\$ .05	\$ .05
Redhot sandwich.....	.05	.05 and .10
Small can spaghetti (No. 1 size)	.25	.14
Small can sardines.....	.25	.11
Small can beans.....	.25	.10 (Campbell's) .14 (Heinz's)
Small can syrup.....	.25	.08 and .09
Pies.....	.40	.25
Sugar buns (small).....	.05	.02 ( .20 doz.)
Doughnuts.....	.10 for 3	.06 for 3
Ham sandwiches (roll).....	.05	.05 and .10
Pork chop sandwich.....	.20	.15
Cigars.....	.06 and .12	.05 and .10
Cigarettes (std. pkg.) .....	.20	.14 and .15
Pencil.....	.05	

	Prices charged at Jail store	Retail prices outside
Matches (small box) . . . . .	.02	.01
Socks . . . . .	.25	.15
Letter outfit (2c stamp, two sheets of paper and envelope)	.05	
Special Delivery letter (same as above plus 10c stamp) . . . . .	.15	

A quart bottle of milk, not included in this list, was sold by the store to prisoners for 20 cents, although it was delivered at one customer's door on the outside at that time for 15 cents.

The amounts of money spent by prisoners on the store vary, of course, with the amounts they have, or receive. Some prisoners have no money to spend and are entirely dependent upon the meals served by the jail. Most of the prisoners receive some money, the sums ranging from, perhaps, one to ten dollars a week. Of forty persons questioned in regard to the amounts they spent on the store, the majority estimated these amounts at between \$3.00 and \$6.00 a week. Those with the larger sums to spend eat little or no jail food, subsisting almost entirely upon what they can buy at the store and upon food sent in from the outside.

#### FOOD SENT IN FROM THE OUTSIDE

The rules governing food sent in from the outside are interesting. All parcels received for prisoners are searched, the object being to keep out contraband articles. At the time this investigation was made the following were the articles "allowed" and "not allowed" to be sent in to prisoners:

Allowed	Not Allowed
Apples	Cigars
Bananas	Cigarettes
Pears	Pies
Oranges	Tobacco
Grape Fruit	Canned Goods
Clothes	Cheese
Combs (plain, i.e., no metal)	Butter
Sandwiches	Candy
Cakes (plain, i.e., no icing)	Plums
Cakes (in sealed packages)	Peaches
Cookies (in sealed packages)	Grapes
Spaghetti (cooked)	Milk
Macaroni (cooked)	Syrup
Meat (cooked)	Tooth paste
Doughnuts	Mirrors
Tablet sugar	Hair brushes
Tooth brushes	Cakes (layer)
Tomatoes	I.W.W. books
	Detective stories
	Melons

Obviously the distinctions in this list do not well serve the purpose of making smuggling difficult. A layer cake does not lend itself to many improper uses that a plain cake cannot be made to serve almost as well, while dope can be concealed in a sandwich or in cooked spaghetti as easily as in most of the articles banned. Why apples, pears and oranges should be given preference over melons and peaches it is hard to discover.

The rules seem carelessly framed at best. As a result of them, however, several nutritious and sweet foods are barred. It has been suggested that one object in making the rules in the past has been to play into the hands of the private store, enabling it to sell to the prisoners larger quantities of candy, sweet foods and other things than it could do if the ban were removed. It is significant that when the present jailer, Capt. Westbrook, learned some of the prices charged by the store, he immediately ordered that for the time being all sweets be allowed to go through the bundle cages to prisoners.

Prisoners awaiting trial in the county jail should undoubtedly be allowed to buy food. They should be fed in such a manner, however, that the purchase of necessities is not essential to their health or to their being well fed. As already pointed out, the county should feed them adequately and wholesomely; it might then engage, itself, in selling them extra delicacies at cost. Certainly a privately conducted store that charges such prices as are charged for many articles in the Cook County jail is improper.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that a dietary schedule be carefully and scientifically worked out for Cook County jail. This will be of value for the new jail, when built, as well as for the present one, but its compilation should be made immediately. The schedule should be devised by a competent, trained dietitian, perhaps with the cooperation of the Chicago Dietetic Association; it must necessarily take into consideration the quantity, quality, variety and attractive preparation of food. Prisoners should no longer either be punished through their stomachs or compelled to secure their food elsewhere.

2. A close watch should be kept on the amount of uneaten and wasted food and the reason for this discovered and removed.

3. The method of purchasing food for the jail should be scrutinized. Food is now purchased through a central board. Food of less than standard quality should not be received.

4. The private store, if allowed to continue, should be more closely supervised and controlled in the matter of prices charged to prisoners and articles sold.

5. The list of things that may be sent to prisoners by friends and relatives on the outside should be revised, the objects of the revision to be more accurately to safeguard administration and to serve the legitimate needs of prisoners.

6. Again it is earnestly recommended that some method be devised for permitting male prisoners to eat outside their cells.

#### III. BARBER SHOP CONCESSION

An outside barber has a concession in the jail. He has three chairs and men who want their hair cut or to be shaved go to him. He and his assistants



are busy nearly all of every morning; the charge for a shave is fifteen cents, for a hair cut thirty-five. Prisoners who have no money are unable to secure the service of a barber, except when getting ready to go to Court. The expenses of the barber, like those of the private store keeper, are small.

What the barber pays for his concession, either in money or political service, is not known. The county, which is depriving these prisoners of their liberty and therefore of their earning power, should attend to their tonsorial wants, giving them a shave at least once a week and a hair-cut when necessary. Here, again, it is a fair question whether the county should not employ its own barber.

#### IV. GUARDS

The guard is an important officer. Not only do the jailer and the assistant jailer depend upon him for much of the smooth running of the institution, but he is the administrative agent most intimately in touch with the prisoners; often the guard is almost the only officer with whom a prisoner comes into contact during his confinement. His attitude toward prisoners, is, therefore, important. If he has not sufficient firmness and ingenuity to meet the varying demands upon him, he may become an easy prey for designing offenders. On the other hand, if he is of the brow-beating kind and regards all persons accused of violating the law as inherently vicious and meriting the treatment of animals, he is likely to do more harm than good. Among the sixty-one guards at the Cook County jail there are men of various sorts, some who seem well equipped to perform their duties intelligently and some who are not.

The method of appointing guards does not seem well calculated to secure good men. According to the frank explanation of a jail official, these are appointed by the Sheriff after nominations have been made to him by ward committeemen. The ward committeemen are political personages who furnish to the Sheriff lists of persons politically deserving and from these lists the guards are selected. This is, of course, patronage pure and simple. Cook County should adopt a more careful way of choosing jail guards. The test of selection should be merit and not political desert.

The pay of the guards, as fixed in the budget for 1922, is \$149 a month. This would have to be raised to secure a better class of men.

The position of guard will become increasingly important as the jail ceases to be a mere place for keeping people in custody and attempts to exercise a beneficial influence over them.

#### V. CLASSIFICATION OF PRISONERS

##### IMPORTANCE OF CLASSIFICATION

Present attempts at the grouping or classification of prisoners within the jail have one object; namely, the safekeeping of the prisoners. This is important. It should not be lost sight of. The administrative purpose is not the only one to be sought, however. If Cook County wishes to prevent crime, and to do as much as it can for the men and women who are accused of breaking the law and cannot raise bail, it should begin by trying to build up in them more

desirable habits of life and more desirable conceptions of their relations to society. The moment they are taken into custody is not too early to begin this. Classification of some sort is the first step toward this end. This classification should be based upon a consideration of their individual needs, backgrounds, habits, temperments, education, family relationships, and whatever factors effect their conduct and amenability to jail life. The primary object of such diagnosis of individuals should be the strengthening of habits of socialized behavior. A classification arrived at in this way would serve as the basis of whatever educational and vocational work the jail provides; it would help, too, in determining the amount of freedom inside the jail—especially after the new jail is built—that individual prisoners might safely be allowed. For this purpose the services of persons trained in the individual study of offenders should be utilized.

### PRESENT METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION

Incoming prisoners are now assigned to cells in the light merely of the charges against them, the size of their bonds and the seriousness of their criminal records. This, besides the attempted segregation of drug addicts and venereal cases, is substantially the only classification sought; colored prisoners are grouped together as, to some extent, are younger offenders also. The assignment to cells is left to the Clerk who takes the records of the new prisoners. He follows roughly a set of rules that existed only in his own head up to two months ago; the rules were put in writing at the order of Captain Westbrook. Moreover, the overcrowding is such now that the rules cannot be fully carried out. It is needless to say that a classification of this sort, based largely upon the legalistic aspect of the charges against the man, is of little use in any educational or reformatory system of treatment.

For example, men charged with lighter offenses or whose bonds are low are put for the most part in the old jail; these men are supposed to be less dangerous than some others and the old jail is regarded as not so secure against escape as the new. In the first and second tiers of the new jail colored prisoners are grouped. Men whose bail has been fixed at sums ranging from \$5,000 to \$20,000 are placed on the third floor of the new jail, and those whose bail runs over \$20,000 are assigned to the fourth floor; these are the "hard guys," the more incorrigible and determined offenders. To the fifth floor are assigned prisoners of the United States government, men without bad records and some others. The sixth floor of the new jail is used for younger men between nineteen and twenty-two years of age—often the age has to be guessed at—and the seventh floor for boys under nineteen. In "celling" men implicated in the same offense, care is taken to separate them, if possible, so that they cannot communicate with each other in the jail; the object of this is to prevent collusion or a concerted plan of any sort, but this object is largely defeated through the ingenuity of prisoners, who employ "runners" or "workers" to carry letters and messages. There are a few other refinements to the "celling" rules, but these are the main outlines.

### OBJECTS OF NEW CLASSIFICATION

Detailed suggestions for the study and classification of individual pri-



soners will be made when the plans for the new jail are presented. At present it is desired only to point out two things: First, that some more intimate and accurate method of discovering the needs and aptitudes of individuals will have to be used, if the present jail is to introduce effectively any educational program, however slight; and second, that immediate steps should be taken to secure the cooperation of Cook County Psychopathic Hospital with a view to picking out those persons who suffer from ascertainable mental peculiarities or defects, and to their helpful treatment under the auspices of that hospital or their transference to some custodial institution calculated to benefit them.

A single illustration will show the importance of this. In one of the so-called "observation" cells opposite the general hospital a man has now been confined for several months. There he lies for twenty-four hours a day. His cell contains nothing but a torn mattress, made of straw and bulging with lumps; to this has been added a blanket. The man himself is clad only in a pair of jail trousers, also torn. He is nude from the waist up and his feet have neither shoes nor stockings. Whenever clothing has been given to him, he has torn it or refused to wear it. His hair is long and his beard unkempt. The cell is so dark that, standing at the door, you cannot make out the objects inside. The man has drawn his mattress into the corner least reached by light and there he lies "crumpled up like a ball," without moving. When a cup of water is pushed into his cell, he reaches for it with a long bare arm without getting up, the arm disappears, the cup is presently replaced and the man again subsides. Oranges, sent in to him by some unknown person on the outside, are eaten peels and all.

Smith, for that is the man's name, makes only one response to persons entering his cell. He leaps to his feet at the first sound of the guard's key in the lock of his cell, cowers in a corner and says: "Are you going to hit me? Are you going to hit me?" His arms are thrown out in front of him, defensively. The body sways slightly from side to side. His hairy chest is entirely exposed. His feet are bare and parts of his legs are visible through the rents in his trousers. The look of fear with which he tries to take in the purpose of his visitors wavers at first and then finds the star on the guard's breast, where it remains fixed, as if this were the symbol of what he most dreads.

The story is that Smith, when captured, was beaten brutally by policemen in their zeal to wring a confession from him; whether this is true or not, has not been established. The fact remains that for two or three months he has been confined in this dark, damp cell, under conditions that resemble mediaeval neglect; the jail records do not disclose the day of his transference to the cell. He entered the institution September 22nd, 1921, more than seven months ago. During that time no adequate attempt has been made either to care for his physical wants or to discover whether his experiences have resulted in mental unbalance. Alienists have visited him. Mr. Westbrook says that those sent by the defense have uniformly pronounced him insane, those sent by the state have declared that he was shamming. Smith is twenty years old. Whatever may have been his condition when he was arrested, Cook County is responsible for two things: First, for failure to try him or otherwise dispose of his case in seven months, and second, for keeping him under conditions that quite conceivably may in themselves be slowly robbing him of normal control over his faculties.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is recommended that a jail ward be established at the Cook County Psychopathic Hospital, with the co-operation and approval of that hospital, for the observation and care of prisoners suspected of having mental disturbance.

2. A more suitable method of classifying individual prisoners, as an aid to an enlarged educational program, should be devised.

NOTE: It should be noted in connection with this and other reports relating to physical conditions in the present jail, that the survey was begun shortly after the present warden, Capt. Wesley Westbrook, took charge. Not only was he not responsible for the bad conditions described, but he took steps immediately, as they were called to his attention, to correct them as far as possible. There has been, particularly, marked improvement in the prices charged by the store and in the cleaning of blankets.

## Report on Medical and Health Conditions in The Cook County Jail

BY

DR. R. B. PREBLE AND DR. JOSEPH L. MILLER

This report, made at the instance of the Chicago Community Trust, as an incident of the Survey of the Cook County Jail now in progress, is based on a study of the medical and health conditions of the jail made by the undersigned in April and May, 1922.

It has been brought to our attention that the population of the County Jail is almost exclusively composed of persons accused of a wide range of criminal offenses who are being held to await judicial action on the charges against them; that a large number of them will ultimately be released as "not guilty," and that, whether guilty or not, they are in a large proportion of cases kept in confinement for many weeks or even months until their cases are disposed of.

It is proper to say in this connection that medical science has no concern with the question of the guilt or innocence of the people so confined. It proceeds on the assumption that every person held in detention by the public authorities is entitled to healthful living conditions, to periodic examination into his mental and physical state of health, and to adequate medical care. After a careful examination of the conditions prevailing in the Cook County Jail, we have come to the conclusion that the County authorities have conspicuously failed to perform their duty in the above respects.

### 1. GENERAL CONDITIONS AFFECTING HEALTH

#### OVER-CROWDING

It is no part of our duty to fix the responsibility for the serious conditions of overcrowding which have come to prevail in the jail, but the bearing of these conditions on the general health of the inmates cannot be questioned. The foul air resulting from the crowding of three and four men within the confined space of a single, narrow cell, and of hundreds of men into the congested bull-pens; the all but complete lack of physical exercise or of recreation for weeks and months at a stretch; the absence of occupation for mind and body, and the inevitable contagion resulting from such close contact cannot but result in an almost universal deterioration of vitality and an impairment of physical health even when acute disease fails to develop. It is equally evident that serious impairment of the nervous system and of the mental health of the

inmates must result from living under these abnormal conditions of irritability, especially when combined, as they are, with anxiety and uncertainty as to their ultimate fate or even as to the probable length of their confinement. Wholly apart from the fact that these conditions of congestion make a proper sanitation out of the question, there can be no doubt that they produce a mental state on the part of the inmates that is highly deleterious and that may have permanent effects on their health.

#### INFECTIOUS CONDITIONS

Each prisoner upon being received at the jail undergoes what is designed as a physical examination. This is given by the assistant jail physician, who comes to the institution for an hour or so every evening for this purpose. Before his arrival the prisoners received since his last visit have been searched and given a bath. After bathing, however, the prisoner puts on the same clothing, including underclothing, that he had on when entering the jail. There is no adequate provision for fumigating or sterilizing the clothing to destroy vermin or disease-producing germs, and this is, in fact, rarely done. After the examination the prisoner is assigned to a temporary cell in the receiving wing of the jail. Here he remains over night until assigned to permanent quarters. The sheet used on the cot is changed only once a week, so it is possible that he may sleep on a sheet which has been used by five other prisoners. It is unnecessary to comment on the dangers attendant upon such a procedure, both as regards infection and the dissemination of germs.

#### VENTILATION

The present building was intended to accomodate some 560 male prisoners. The average number actually confined is approximately 900. The cells contain 380 cubic feet of air space, and these were intended for two prisoners at the most. Now, however, three or four prisoners are placed in almost every cell, allowing thus an individual air space of a little more or less than 100 cubic feet. Inasmuch as the minimum requirement is 500 cubic feet per person where there is through-and-through ventilation, the state of the air in one of these cells where there is no through-and-through ventilation can readily be imagined. The air simply enters at the front of the cell. At the back is the steel door which does not contain a ventilator. This door opens onto the bull-pen. Each prisoner is kept in his cell twenty out of the twenty-four hours, as he is allowed two hours twice a day for exercise.

The cell is provided with a double-decked, or, in some cases, with a three-decked bunk. Where more than two or three prisoners are confined in a cell they sleep on a mattress placed on the floor in the cramped space at the side of, or under, the cot. The width of one cell measured was only four feet, eight inches.

This condition is a most deplorable one and can only be entirely corrected with the construction of a new jail in which due consideration is given to sanitation, and especially to the provision of adequate air space for each prisoner. This condition, however, in the present institution could be very much improved by putting a ventilator in the steel door at the rear of the cell. This would at least permit through-and-through ventilation.

The bull-pens in which the inmates are exercised are, with the excep-

tion of one, fairly well ventilated. This bull pen has a low ceiling, is dark and most unsatisfactory. When a new jail is constructed, it is very desirable that some plan be devised by which the prisoners may get exercise in the open air, or at least in a room with sunlight and good ventilation.

## VERMIN

The relation of vermin to disease is only dimly apprehended by the community at large. To medical science, vermin are not only a nuisance or a symptom of a low standard of living on the part of those who tolerate them, but a source of infection and of lowered vitality. The verminous home or institution is a disease-breeding place. The prevalence of vermin in the cells and bull-pens of the County Jail and on the persons, in the clothing and beds of the inmates is, therefore, a condition which has to do with the health of the institution.

With the present arrangement of replacing the prisoner's clothing after his initial bath, a practice which is described elsewhere in this report, it is impossible to prevent lice, bedbugs and fleas from gaining access to the cells. The arrangement at the present time is that, if the prisoners complain of their cells being infected with vermin, the vermin are destroyed by the use of gasoline torches. No systematic going over of the cells for this purpose is carried out, but only on complaint of the inmates. This should be remedied. All cells should be gone over for the destruction of vermin at stated intervals. By the use of a torch only those vermin are destroyed in the walls or on the floor. No attempt is made to destroy those in the bed. The blankets are only washed at infrequent intervals, and as a rule not oftener than several months and probably a very much longer period of time.

As stated elsewhere, clean sheets are distributed only once a week. All of these practices favor the development of vermin in the cells.

At the present time a concession is granted for a barber shop. They charge fifteen cents for a shave and thirty-five cents for a hair-cut. Those prisoners without money are denied the opportunity to get a hair-cut or shave, excepting when summoned to appear in court for trial, and this again may be a very important factor in promoting the development and consequent dissemination of vermin.

## 2. FOOD CONDITIONS

The relation of health to nutrition and the dependence of the latter on the regular supply of a sufficient, appetizing and well-balanced diet are too well known to require special emphasis in this report. It may be said that conditions in the County Jail in this respect are far from satisfactory.

Food conditions in the jail have been set forth so fully and accurately in the report of Mr. Winthrop D. Lane, which appears in connection herewith, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here.

Apart from the fact that the diet is so monotonous and unappetizing in character that most of the inmates refuse to eat it and that it is so heavy and unbalanced that it produces an abnormal amount of digestive trouble on the part of those who are forced to depend on it, the features that call especially for medical notice are the absence of fresh vegetables and the almost complete lack of sugar, milk and butter or butter-substitutes. These are, perhaps, in addition



to bread, the most essential elements of a balanced and nutritious diet and it is hardly too much to say that a state of health cannot be maintained without them. It is true that such of the prisoners as have money are able to procure these necessities from the jail store and that those who have families or friends able and willing to help them can procure them from the outside, but there are many hundreds of the thousands that pass through the jail in the course of a year who are compelled to depend wholly on the jail diet.

We cannot blink the fact that the possession of money and friends may be an advantage in a jail as well as in the world outside, but we believe that we are warranted in insisting that where the State has placed men in confinement and prevented them from earning their livelihood, it is under the duty of supplying them with a diet which will be adequate to the maintenance of their health and strength.

It is our understanding that the question of the jail diet is being studied by a Committee of the Chicago Dietetic Association, which will make special recommendations on the subject.

### 3. MEDICAL SERVICE

#### PHYSICIAN AND STAFF

The medical service of the jail is directed by a Jail Physician and an assistant physician, who are assisted by two inmates, serving sentences. The chief physician, as required by law, calls at the jail every morning and the assistant in the evening. Each is expected to spend as much time as may be necessary, but both are busy practitioners and have little time to spare for the most uncongenial and least profitable part of their professional work. They have, apparently, not regarded it a part of their duty to give attention to the ventilation or the sanitary conditions of the place. In fact Mr. Lane reports that the chief physician gave him the comforting assurance that "the jail is a health resort."

With 900 inmates, frequently changing, the full-time service of one or more competent medical men is required—not merely for the purpose of devoting more time to the examination of prisoners on entrance, but also to make rounds through the jail, possibly to detect in this manner incipient disease, to make physical examinations as often as required of all those, at least, who are suspected of having some progressive disease, and to look after the sanitary condition of the hospital as a whole. A man holding such a position should, therefore, not merely be familiar with medical diagnosis, but should also have some training in sanitation.

In addition to this physician who would be on service all of the time there should be at regular intervals medical inspection of the jail by a committee of medical men appointed by some such organization as the Chicago Institute of Medicine. They would thus be able to check up and detect any neglect of sanitation or medical care.

#### MENTAL AND PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

There is no mental examination of the inmates on their arrival nor subsequently during their confinement. In view of the now well-known fact that a

large proportion of delinquents are feeble-mined and that many of them suffer from insanity or other psychopathic conditions, the neglect of this elementary precaution cannot be justified.

The physical examination of newly received prisoners is conducted in a very perfunctory manner. On one occasion recently forty-two men were examined in thirteen minutes, part of this time being consumed by the examiner in filling out the prisoners' record cards. On the bases of this brief examination, however, the examiner filled out each man's card for scabies, syphilis, gonorrhea, tuberculosis, condition of the heart, condition of the lungs and general physical condition. It is apparent that an examination of this character is practically valueless, as only very evident lesions could be detected. No provision is made for examination of urine or sputum, and no Wasserman tests are made on any of the prisoners in the institution, although some of these prisoners are confined there for many months. In such a superficial examination only advanced tuberculosis could be detected. No doubt many cases of active pulmonary tuberculosis are placed in cells with healthy prisoners and the danger of contagion is very great. Not only may an infected inmate thus unnecessarily expose other prisoners, but in the poorly ventilated and damp cells and with the inadequate food provided, the disease within a few weeks may reach an incurable stage. In such an examination early scarlet fever or measles might also be overlooked, and such a highly contagious disease as itch. Even if the patient were found to have tuberculosis, no provisions are available for proper isolation or confinement in a cell or room properly lighted and ventilated. There is no provision made for the proper disinfection of the cells, so the possibility of an infection like tuberculosis being carried in this manner is certainly very great.

#### CARE OF PATIENTS—HOSPITAL

Prisoners with minor complaints are given pills or powders by a prisoner assigned to the dispensary. In the selection of a prisoner for this position, trustworthiness, rather than any special knowledge of pharmacy, is the necessary qualification. Inasmuch as such prisoners serve short sentences, the personnel will be frequently changed. A permanent position should be established and a person selected to fill it who at least has some knowledge of pharmacy.

Serious cases of illness are treated by the prison physician in the hospital. The jail at present has two hospital wards. These are known as Hospital A and Hospital B. Hospital A is located on the top floor. It is a large, suitably light, airy room with toilet facilities, which could accomodate, without unnecessary crowding, twelve patients. On the day of our visit there was just one patient in this room, a prisoner ill with pneumonia.

Hospital B is on the ground floor. It is a room approximately forty by twelve feet, and was constructed by walling off a part of a wide corridor, or what was no doubt intended for a bull-pen. The walls are simply heavy wire netting with canvas on the inside at one end. The ceiling is low. There is no outside light. The room is damp, most uncomfortable and unsanitary. It has no proper toilet facilities. A more gloomy and unsuitable location for a hospital could not have been selected. This ward contains eleven beds, four of which were occupied and one of these by a prisoner who had been confined since last October awaiting trial. He had lost forty pounds in weight. From his ap-



Interior view of Hospital B in "old" Jail.  
(Flashlight photo by E. P. Doolan)



pearance and from information gathered from the attendant it would appear he was suffering from tuberculosis. No examination of the sputum had been made, nor were we able to find in the record book any statement in regard to the nature of his ailment.

Captain Westbrook, the Jail Warden, realized fully the unsanitary condition of Hospital B and was strongly in favor of abandoning it and placing all prisoners requiring hospital care in Hospital A. He stated that he had been unable to do this because it would be necessary to employ three guards to be on duty at Hospital A, which is at present unguarded, and he had not been able to obtain an appropriation for paying these guards.

There is at present no provision for the isolation of contagious cases. While the institution has been unusually free from these diseases, the conditions are such with prisoners mingling during the recreation hours in crowded bull-pens and confined together during the rest of the day in cells, that sooner or later an epidemic will develop, and provision should be made for meeting such an emergency. Captain Westbrook had already considered this matter and suggested that the "death chamber" might be used for this purpose inasmuch as it is unoccupied except on rare occasions and then only for twenty-four hours. This room is large, well lighted and could accommodate at least four patients. The only change needed would be the installation of a bathroom, and this could be placed in the store opening off from this chamber. Inasmuch as there have been very few contagious cases in the Hospital in recent years it is quite likely that this chamber could still fulfill the function for which it was intended. In the plans for a new jail, however, adequate facilities should be provided for the proper isolation of contagious cases. Even with the use of the "death chamber," the facilities for isolating patients is entirely inadequate and the health of every inmate in this institution is menaced by failure to provide suitable isolation quarters. A book is provided to keep a record of patients in the hospitals, but this is poorly kept and little information can be gained from studying it.

#### WOMEN'S HOSPITAL

The hospital connected with the women's department of the jail is all that could be desired, except for convenient toilet facilities. It is a clean, well-lighted room with three comfortable beds. It is the one bright spot in the hospital situation at the institution. The lack of a toilet and bath is, however, a serious drawback and one that should be remedied without delay.

#### MENTAL CASES

There is no provision at the present time for taking care of suspected mental cases. At the time the institution was visited there was a prisoner who had been in jail since last October, and it was uncertain whether he was a malingerer or whether he was actually insane. He was kept in a damp cell on the first floor opposite Hospital B. He was without clothing except for a pair of trousers, as this was all he would keep on. There was no cot in the room. The whole environment was most undesirable. It brings up another question which should receive attention—namely, the long period of time in which prisoners are kept in jail before coming to trial. The chances are with a man

having tuberculosis, or mental trouble, that such long detention might convert a curable into an incurable case.

### DRUG ADDICTS

There is no doubt that drug addiction is very common among the persons committed to the County Jail. The lack of an adequate examination of all inmates on admission or subsequently thereto leaves persons of this sort distributed about the jail, undetected, only to become a source of infection and serious misconduct. The well-known relation of this habit to criminality and its tendency to induce a vicious and reckless character make it specially desirable to identify and, so far as possible, to isolate and treat its victims. Under existing conditions in the jail it will not be easy to deal adequately with this class of patients. But they should at least be weeded out from the general jail population and disposed of in such a way as to subject them to constant supervision and a humane form of treatment. It is possible that arrangements might be made to treat the more serious cases in the Washingtonian Home or other institution for the treatment of drug addiction.

### RE-EXAMINATION

At the present time prisoners who are kept in the Hospital for several months are never examined by the physician unless they make some complaint. Provision should be made for the re-examination of prisoners at no longer than monthly intervals in order to detect incipient disease. While this examination should include a general looking-over of the patient, special attention should be paid to the chest on account of the danger of tuberculosis developing in this environment.

In conclusion we respectfully submit the following recommendations:

### RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The rule requiring examination of prisoners upon entrance should be more rigidly observed. To make such an examination and record the findings would require a minimum of ten minutes per person.
2. The prisoner should be provided with clean underclothing following the initial bath.
3. Hospital B should be immediately abandoned.
4. A six-foot movable partition should be placed through Hospital A and an additional toilet and bathroom provided. One portion of Hospital A can be used for the isolation of tuberculosis patients. The addition of toilet facilities adjacent to the "death chamber" would be desirable so that this room might be used as an isolation ward also.
5. Suitable quarters for mental cases should be provided. If this cannot be done at the jail, arrangements should be made so this group of patients might be taken to the County Psychopathic Hospital where they can be adequately studied and an early conclusion reached in regard to their condition.
6. Better medical attention and, if necessary, isolation for venereal cases should be provided.
7. More complete records should be kept of patients in the Hospital.
8. Laboratory facilities for some of the ordinary routine examinations should be provided.



**Just outside Hospital B (center) in the "old" Jail.**  
(Photo by F. P. Burke).



9. A full-time physician, with one or more assistants, should be appointed to devote their entire time to looking after the inmates of the jail, thus enabling the inmates to receive proper medical attention and permit of monthly examination of all prisoners.

10. A trained pharmacist should be provided to dispense simple remedies, to replace the trusty who now performs this function.

11. The Chicago Institute of Medicine should be authorized to appoint a committee of three physicians who will make quarterly inspection of the jail and make a written report to the proper authorities.

12. The inmates should be allowed more than the four hours for exercise in the bull-pens, in order to lessen the dangers of the present crowding and inadequate air space in the cells.

13. A ventilator should be placed in the rear of each cell.

14. There should be systematic extermination of the vermin in the cells.

15. Clean sheets should be provided for each new prisoner when placed in a cell.

16. Blankets should be cleansed and disinfected at intervals not to exceed one month.

17. A proper sterilizing plant should be provided for the proper disinfection of clothing.

18. A committee of dietitians should be appointed to make periodic inspection of food conditions and make recommendations in regard to the prisoners' diet.

19. The plans for the new jail should make provision for the following hospital facilities and equipment:

(a) Laboratory facilities in order that some of the simpler examinations, essential in making a diagnosis, can be carried on.

(b) Well lighted and well ventilated hospital space. This should be arranged in the form of separate wards of moderate size, rather than one large ward, in order to provide suitable isolation. In addition to this there should be a number of two or three-bed rooms which could also be used for isolation of special contagious cases. The number and size of these wards, and the number of the small rooms required would depend upon the size of the jail to be constructed.

(c) Suitable isolation quarters for the mental, or suspect mental cases, unless it is decided that these can be taken care of at the County Psychopathic Hospital, which would be by far the better arrangement from the standpoint of medical attention.

(d) All cells arranged so there would be through-and-through ventilation, allowing a capacity of 500 cubic feet of air space for each inmate.

(e) If possible, an outdoor yard arranged where the prisoners could get exercise. If this is not feasible, then well lighted and well ventilated bull-pens should be provided.

(f) Suitable space and adequate facilities for making the preliminary medical examination of the prisoners.

(g) A properly equipped dispensary.

# Report on Food Conditions in The Cook County Jail

By the

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON JAIL DIET OF THE  
CHICAGO DIETETIC ASSOCIATION

Anything like an adequate survey of the food situation in the County Jail could only be made after a study at first hand—living at the jail and following through the whole course for successive days. This has not been possible. With the co-operation of Captain Westbrook, the Warden, and his assistant, the Committee of Dietitians visited the kitchen several times, saw the raw food materials, saw the prepared food, saw the serving, and noted in a general way the amount of waste. The report is in no way accurate but a general picture of conditions as noted by the committee accustomed to supervising the cooking and serving for large groups.

It is evidently the intention of the County to furnish the persons held in the County Jail an inexpensive diet that is adequate to maintain them in proper physical condition. Mr. Lane's report gives in detail the kinds and character of the food served. The present food served, though sufficient in quantity and for the most part wholesome in quality, is not a balanced diet. It lacks fat—no fat except that contained in the meat. It lacks sugar—no sugar in the general diet. The amount of fat and sugar in the bread is negligible. It lacks food that contains vitamins, a fact to be considered since nearly twenty per cent of the inmates are boys—2000 out of a total of 8600 in 1921. Their previous food habits should not be the standard, as those very habits may have been a contributory factor in their delinquency. The foods are not well distributed, viz: Rice, potatoes and bread served at one meal with no other vegetable; or potatoes, hominy and bread at another.

With a budget of \$36,000.00 and a census of approximately 850, the menu must of necessity be limited. No doubt habit and precedent play an important part both in the buying and ordering, as well as the preparation of the food. It takes imagination and much planning to vary a 12-cent or less per capita menu to any considerable degree. A few suggestions are found elsewhere in the paper in the form of a week's menu worked out on the present day capita cost. The prices taken are from invoices of materials received in May of this year, and prices given by Mr. Henry A. Zender, the County Superintendent of Public Service, and by firms furnishing foodstuffs to the jail.

A study of the requisitions for the month of April might be of interest.

# COOK COUNTY JAIL REQUISITION CLASSIFIED

FOR

TWENTY-EIGHT DAYS OF APRIL, 1922

## Meat—

Salt Pork.....	6 pounds
Chuck.....	6380 pounds
Corned Beef.....	1900 pounds

## Fish.....

Lard.....	60 pounds
Milk.....	299 gallons
Flour.....	147 sacks
Macaroni.....	2 barrels
Rice.....	300 pounds
Peas.....	1900 pounds
Beans.....	900 pounds
Potatoes.....	135 sacks
Cabbage.....	40 sacks
Carrots.....	18 sacks
Turnips.....	33 sacks
Onions.....	2 sacks
Tomatoes.....	9 cans

## For Women—

Sugar.....	174 pounds
Syrup.....	42 cans
Jelly.....	120 cans
Coffee.....	1300 pounds
Tea.....	10 pounds
Salt.....	3 barrels
Pepper.....	12 pounds

It was not determined by the Committee whether or not all supplies requisitioned were furnished, but from the distribution throughout the month the list is probably nearly correct. Sausage and fish were not requisitioned though these items, we understand, always appear on the weekly menu. The amount of chuck and corned beef, if served 5 times per week, would allow 400 pounds per day. Two hundred and ninety-nine gallons of milk is an average of a little more than 10 gallons per day. Since most of this was served the women, the general diet contained very little.

The Comptroller's report, for 1921, shows that of the \$34,537.53 spent for food, the sum of \$15,403.22 was spent for meat. A substitution of some butter, or butter substitute, and milk in place of some of the meat would undoubtedly have resulted in less waste of bread and cereal and made a better balance. One hundred forty-seven sacks or 105 barrels of flour is an average of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  barrels per day, enough to make 850 to 900 pounds of bread, or one pound per person per day;  $\frac{3}{4}$  pound is sufficient with other starchy foods in diet. Split pea soup is served three times per week. Note—1900 pounds of split peas!

The monotony of having the same soup repeated every second day is a





"The noon-day meal," Cook County Jail.  
Men prisoners are fed in their cells.

guarantee that much goes down the sewer. A vegetable soup using the stock from the bones, with a little rice or barley would form a more appetizing dish and result in less waste.

Thirteen hundred pounds of coffee, serving every morning and every other evening 80 and 90 gallons, allows 30 pounds per meal, a sufficient amount. If the coffee were ground finer and a muslin bag used instead of the burlap sack now in use, the results would be more palatable. Scalding the milk would improve the flavor and lessen the possibility of serving cold coffee, which seems to be a general complaint.

It is deplorable that the serving of the food should be so primitive. It is to be hoped that in the new jail some more civilized and civilizing method of serving will be installed.

JAIL DIET—Based upon budget of \$35,000 per year or approximately \$95.00 per day for 850 to 900 people, approximately 11 cents a day per capita—

PRESENT DIET

Typical meals for a day:

BREAKFAST	DINNER	SUPPER	
Clear Coffee, Duffer (bread)	Beef Stew, Potatoes, Vegetables Carrots, Turnips or Cabbage.	Coffee, Duffer, or Soup and Duffer.	
Total Food allowance per day		Protein	Fat
Bread, 1 lb.—254 Carbohydrates.....		43.2	9.6
Meat, ½ lb.....		48	31.2
Potato ¼ lb.—32 Carbonydrates.....		3.2	
Carrot or Cabbage or Turnip ¼ lb.—7.2 Carbohydrates.....		1.2	
Dry Peas 1.. oz.—24.8 Carbohydrates.....		9.6	.4
Coffee.....			
	317. Ogm. Carbohydrates	105.2	41.2
Total calories.....			2048

Theoretically, the carbohydrate and proteid are high for people not working. Fat low. In practice this amount of food is not eaten and is therefore insufficient.

A reasonable proportion of carbohydrate, proteid and fat for average person living in confinement, is approximately:

Carbohydrates 250 grams	Proteid 75 grams	Fat 100 grams	Calories 2200 to 2600				
SUGGESTED MEALS—850 to 900							
BREAKFAST..			Portion	Carby.	Prot.	Fats	Calories
Oatmeal.....	80 lbs.	\$2.50 per cwt.	\$ 2.00	6-8 oz.	30	7.2	1.1
Milk.....	30 gal.	.18 per gal.	5.40	4 oz.	6	3.6	4.8
Sugar.....	20 lbs.	.05 per lb.	1.00	2 tsp.	24		
Coffee—90 gal.....	25 lbs.	.16 per lb.	4.70	1 pt.			
Milk (hot).....	10 gal.	.18 per gal.	1.80	2 tbs.	2.4	1.4	1.7
Sugar.....	25 lbs.	.05 per lb.	1.00	2 tsp.			
Bread.....	225 lbs.	.03 plus	7.00	½ lb.	31.8	5.4	
Margarine.....	25 lbs.	.20	5.00	¼ oz.			12.7
			<hr/>				Total Calories
			\$27.90				
					<hr/>	<hr/>	
					94.2	17.6	20.3
							629.9
DINNER—							
Chuck beef.....	300 lbs.	\$6.00 per cwt.	\$18.00	¼ lb.		30	18
Potatoes.....	450 lbs.	2.00 per cwt.	9.00	⅓ lb.	32	3.2	
Carrots.....	300 lbs.	1.00 per cwt.	3.00	¼ lb.	7.2	1.2	
Bread.....	250 lbs.	.03 per lb.	7.00	¼ lb.	31.8	5.4	
			<hr/>				Total Calories
			\$37.00				
					<hr/>	<hr/>	
					71.0	39.8	18
							605.2
SUPPER—							
Prunes.....	100 lbs.	\$9.00 per cwt.	\$ 9.00	8-10pr.	33.4	1.2	
Bread.....	225 lbs.	.03 per lb.	7.00	¼ lb.	31.8	5.4	
Margarine.....	25 lbs.	.20 per lb.	5.00	¼ oz.			12.7
Coffee.....	25 lbs.	.16 per lb.	4.70	1 pt.			

Sugar.....	20 lbs.	.05 per lb.	1.00	2 tsp.	12			
Milk.....	10 gal.	.18 gal.	1.80	2 tsp.	2.4	1.4	1.7	
			\$28.50		79.6	8.0	14.4	480

Grand Total.....	\$92.90	244.8	65.4	52.7	1715
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BREAKFAST—Typical.....	\$27.90
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Dinner:

Hamburger.....	225 lbs.	at	.10	\$22.50	
with					
Onions.....	25 lbs.	at	.02	.50	
Potatoes.....	300 lbs.	at	2.00 cwt.	6.00	
Bread.....	225 lbs.			7.00	36.00

Supper:

Stewed fruit.....				9.00	
Bread.....	250 lbs.	at		7.00	
Coffee, with milk and sugar.....				.50	
Margarine.....	25 lbs.			5.00	28.50

\$92.40

BREAKFAST—Typical.....	\$27.90
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Dinner:

Salt Cod Fish.....	75 lbs.	at	.10	7.50	
Milk gravy,					
40 gal. milk.....		at	.18	7.20	
5 lbs. oleo.....		at	.20	1.00	
15 lbs. flour.....		at	.03	.45	
Potatoes.....	450 lbs.	at		9.00	
Bread.....	225 lbs.			7.00	\$32.35

Supper:

Vegetable soup, made from stock from bones,					
Cabbage.....	25 lbs.			.75	
Carrots.....	25 lbs.			.50	
Onions.....	10 lbs.			.20	
Barley.....	20 lbs.			.60	
Flour.....	10 lbs.			.30	
Bread.....	225 lbs.			7.00	
Stewed fruit.....				9.00	\$18.35

\$78.60

# SUGGESTED MEAL CHANGES:

Breakfast: Cereals, oatmeal, oatmeal and bran, cornmeal, rice.

Dinner: Fish with macaroni and tomatoes—no potatoes. Bread. Serve vegetable soup for supper.

Hash with beets or raw onions when cheap, Bread. Stew with turnips or carrots and potatoes. Bread.

Cornedbeef and cabbage with potatoes and bread.

Baked beans with ham butts.

Potato and sausage loaf; 2 parts raw potatoes, 1 part sausage and gravy.

Supper: Stewed fruit, prunes, apricots, peaches, dried apple sauce.

Vegetable soup. Potato soup with salt pork; bean or pea soup, with bacon ends or salt pork. Bread.

All of the above are calculated on a per capita basis not exceeding the present cost.

For a 15 cent per capita add to the above:

A meat substitute for supper.

i.e. Rice and tomatoes and cheese.

Potatoes with bacon.

Fresh fruit for breakfast, occasionally.

More milk, and more fat.

For a 20-cent per capita:

Add milk, eggs, fat and sugar in the form of simple puddings.

Respectfully submitted,

CHICAGO DIETETIC ASSOCIATION,

Emma B. Aylward.

Committee Chairman, Dietetian Presbyterian School for Nurses.

Miss Elizabeth Tuft

—Dietetian Wesley Memorial Hospital.

Miss Breta Luther

—Dietetian Cook County Hospital.

Miss Rose Straka

—Dietetian Presbyterian Hospital.

June 15, 1922.





# Detention of The Woman Offender

By

MRS. KENNETH F. RICH

Director of the Bureau of Surveys and Exhibits,  
of the Chicago Community Trust.

Formerly, Director Girls' Protective Bureau of Chicago.

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# WHERE AND HOW SHALL COOK COUNTY DETAIN WOMEN ACCUSED OF CRIME?

## Outline

### I. PRESENT DETENTION QUARTERS

1. Women in the County Jail
  - Capacity and Construction
  - Ventilation
  - The Daily Life
  - Recreation
  - Meals
  - Hospital
  - Occupation and Employment
  - Cleanliness
2. In the District Police Stations
  - Harrison Street Annex of the South Clark Street Station
  - Hyde Park Station
  - Stock Yards Station
  - South Chicago Station
  - West Chicago Avenue Station
  - General Administration of Women's Quarters
3. The Three Detention Homes Experiment

### II. SIZE OF DETENTION HOME NEEDED

(As shown by the Numbers of Women Detained in  
Chicago and Cook County.)

1. Number of Women Arrested in Chicago
  - Daily
  - Monthly
  - Annually
2. Additional Women Held
3. Effect of Bail on Size of Detention Home Needed
4. Relation of the Numbers of Women Convicted to  
Size of Detention Home
5. Daily Woman Population in the County Jail
  - Total number held
  - Number serving Jail sentence
  - Number awaiting trial on indictment



Number awaiting action of the Grand Jury  
Number awaiting action Municipal Court  
Length of time in Jail

### III. CHARACTER OF WOMAN POPULATION OF THE COUNTY JAIL AND CITY POLICE STATIONS

1. Age
  - In County Jail
  - Among All Women Arrested
2. Charge
  - County Jail Women
  - Among All Women Arrested
3. Number Times Arrested
4. Physical Condition and Habits
5. Nationality
6. Color
7. Education
8. Occupation

### IV. PLANS FOR A CENTRAL DETENTION HOME

1. Facilities and Equipment Needed
  - Segregation
  - Morals Court
  - Woman's Court
  - Policewomen
  - Finger Printing
  - Probation Officers
  - State and City Attorneys
  - Psychopathic Laboratory
  - Medical Clinic
  - Educational Facilities
  - Recreation
  - Kitchen and Dining Rooms
  - Laundry and Sterilizer
  - Building Available
2. Administrative Personnel
  - Superintendent
  - Assistant Superintendent
  - Matrons
  - Receiving Clerks
  - Other Assistants

### V. REASONS FOR A SEPARATE DETENTION HOUSE FOR WOMEN

### VI. REASONS FOR COMBINING THE WOMAN'S DETEN- TION FACILITIES OF CITY AND COUNTY

## I. PRESENT DETENTION QUARTERS

Women in Cook County accused of crime spend the period awaiting trial, if they cannot secure bail, in the Woman's Quarters of the County Jail, or in the various police lock-ups scattered over the city. Gradually, since the periodic reports of the State Inspector of Institutions have come forth, the nature of those detention quarters has become familiar to Chicago's citizens. There has been a challenge in that official's condemnatory conclusion, "in Chicago we find the worst jails in the State,"<sup>(a)</sup> a challenge which the progressive elements in this community have been struggling to meet.

No new efforts can be intelligently directed, until fresh inventories are made of the present size of the detention problem, the existent jail provisions, and their possibilities of expansion and improvement. The following statement by Mr. Winthrop D. Lane is a current description of the Women's Quarters in the County Jail and presents a picture of the woman prisoner's daily life:

### 1. WOMEN IN THE COUNTY JAIL

#### Capacity and Construction

The women's section, a separate part of the "new jail" reached from the fifth floor, follows the same plan of cell construction as the men's quarters in the "new jail." It is much smaller, the number of cells available for women being thirty-one. On one day in May, when it was inspected, there were forty-three women prisoners. The cells are arranged in three tiers, and there are two "bull pens," the second and third tiers of cells opening into one "bull pen." There are six cells in a row and therefore thirty-six cells in all, but five of these are used for service requirements. On the day when the number of prisoners was forty-three, each of fourteen cells contained two prisoners, each of eleven contained one, and six cells were empty. The doubling up, in spite of the fact that six cells were empty was due to the desire of some of the girls to cell together. Each cell is eight feet, four inches long, six feet wide and seven and a half feet high, containing 375 cubic feet. Since 500 cubic feet is regarded as the minimum desirable for health purposes, there is overcrowding here, as in the men's department, especially in cells containing two women.

#### Ventilation

Through ventilation is as absent from the cells for women as from those for men, the cells being solidly enclosed on three sides.

#### THE DAILY LIFE

##### Recreation

The life of the women prisoners is a shade less depressing than that of the men. They do not have much, however, with which to occupy their time. The same schedule is followed in general in the women's department as in the men's. The "bull pen" used for recreation four hours a day has a piano; this is played by the prisoners and occasionally some of the girls try to dance in the cramped space. Plain tables and benches almost fill the "bull pen" and at these

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(a) "The Jails of Illinois," *Institution Quarterly*, March 31, 1916, p. 11.



**Women's quarters—Reading and recreation room.**  
(Photo by F. P. Burke).



the girls sit and read, talk or play cards. One of the cells on this tier is used as a smoking room by the women prisoners.

### Meals

The women do not eat in their cells, as do the men. The second "bull pen" is used as a mess hall, six small dining tables with benches filling it. The girls are orderly in their conduct at meals and require no greater supervision at that time than when they are in the recreation room above. This is a great improvement over the way the men eat.

### Hospital

The hospital room in the women's section, containing three beds, is reasonably light and airy. *It does not contain, however, either a toilet or a bathroom.* Patients must go through the dining room to a cell in order to use a toilet, or if too ill a bed-pan must be carried by this route. To bathe, they are compelled to ascend two flights of stairs to the general bathroom for women prisoners.

### Occupation and Employment

The jail provides nothing for the women to read and, with the exception of a few who volunteer to do certain kinds of work, does not attempt to do anything to occupy their hands or minds. Two girls are allowed to repair mattress covers, linen and other articles belonging to the county, on sewing machines; they spend the hours when the other girls are in the recreation room at this task. The "scrub list" contains five girls; these keep the women's department and the second-floor guard room clean. Two other girls assist in the dining room. Nine women prisoners are thus given employment for an hour or so to four hours a day. That a greater number would welcome an opportunity to be busy is indicated by the matron's statement: "We always have more volunteers for the sewing than we can use on our two machines."

### Cleanliness

In neatness and cleanliness the women's section is an agreeable contrast to the men's. The cells are clean, the floors are kept scrubbed and everything presents a spotless appearance. Among jail officials it is customary to attribute this to the "woman's touch." There is a pleasant flavor of gallantry about this explanation, and it doubtless would be unobjectionable were it not that the explanation has been seized upon as justifying in large measure the dirtiness of the men's quarters. This error will not be committed by those who know how clean a ship at sea can be, or what effective scrubbers are produced by every army and navy in the world. There is no reason, of course, why a man's jail should not be clean, provided the dirt does not get too large an initial start.

The County Jail Women's Quarters represent decency itself when compared with the police lock-ups where women first arrested are still held.

## 2. IN THE DISTRICT POLICE STATIONS

At present, women are held at the following five police stations:(a)

"Harrison St. Annex of the South Clark St. Station," District 1-A, 625 South Clark St.

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(a) Information furnished May 1922) by Secretary to Supt. of Chicago Police Dept.

"Hyde Park Station," 4th District, 5233 Lake Park Ave.

"Stock Yards Station," 12th District, 4726 South Halsted St.

"South Chicago Station," 7th District, 2938 E. 89th St.

"West Chicago Ave. Station," 22nd District, 731 North Racine Ave.

These are not the worst stations in the city. Until the last few months, women were still being held in the damp, dark basement cells of the "East Chicago Ave. Station," reached by a narrow flight of stairs leading through vacant rooms, and adjoining a stable.<sup>(a)</sup> Until just before the war, large numbers of women were held in the "Maxwell St. Station," with its open sewers, its grime and vermin;<sup>(a)</sup> in the "Desplaines St. Station," with its underground kitchen,<sup>(b)</sup> and in others which "are indeed the worst in the world."<sup>(b)</sup> The present police detention quarters for women are not in basements, but, with the exception of the dormitory of the "Harrison St. Annex," they are all of cramped, cell-bar construction, usually shut off from light and fresh air.

### HARRISON ST. ANNEX

The largest space is available at the Harrison St. Annex, with its twelve-bed dormitory on the third floor, and rear cell-room. The former is a long, shabby, narrow room, its walls dingy with worn-off paint, its beds and mattresses far from clean. A large bare table in the room is used for dining purposes at meal time. In the center of the dark, ill-smelling room behind, with a corridor around the sides, is the cell block. There are three cells on a side, in one tier, back to back. Each contains open plumbing and a wooden plank bench. As recently as 1918, one of these barred cells was furnished with a high stationary chair, in which at times, insane or violent women were strapped. The treatment afforded by such means of detention is described by the State Inspector of Jails in 1916, as follows: "In its care of the insane in the precinct stations, Chicago shows a spirit less enlightened than that shown in the smallest hamlet out in the State. Only in the city of Chicago are the insane treated as criminals and held as dangerous prisoners . . . The Inspector was shown a strait-jacket which had just been taken from the body of an insane woman. This jacket had been tightened about the woman; she had been forcibly placed in the chair, and hands, feet, limbs and body strapped until she could not move. Her screams and cries, it is said, could be heard in all parts of the building."<sup>(a)</sup>

Treatment of the insane in this community has markedly improved since 1916. It is to be hoped that these mediaeval cruelties are no longer resorted to. And yet, even with the modern facilities of a well-equipped Psychopathic Hospital conveniently within reach, it is true that "psychopathic cases" are still held over night in the cells of Chicago's police stations.

With one in a bed and one in a cell, the "Harrison St. Annex" could house twenty-four women. It is not always full, but, at other times, the numbers herded into it are beyond capacity limit. This station is far from the type where constructive work may be begun for those who have taken perhaps their first mis-step.

(a) "Chicago Police Stations," *Institution Quarterly*, March 31, 1916, pp. 12, 82, 90, 369.

(b) "What Shall Be Done for Chicago's Women Offenders," Report of Committee on Penal and Correctional Institutions, p. 5.

## HYDE PARK STATION

Women's quarters at the Hyde Park Station are regarded as the best now afforded in the police lock-ups. They are situated on the second floor, in a large room, on the left of which, behind a heavy iron grating, is a square enclosure containing six iron beds, a table and some chairs. At the right of the enclosed space are three cells, two of them furnished with two benches, one with a bench and a toilet. At the back of the cell block is another cell containing a bathtub and wash-stand, both, at the time of a recent inspection, very dirty and evidently little used. "The matron's office adjoins the general room. All persons entering this room, have a clear view of all parts of the woman's room." Ten or twelve women prisoners, it will be seen, is the capacity of this station.

## STOCK YARDS STATION

This station shares responsibility of the general city district with the Hyde Park Station, each caring for the prisoners of the other when its capacity is overcrowded or the matrons of the other are off duty. The space for women at the Stock Yards Station is, with the exception of the South Chicago Station, smaller than that at any of the other stations now in use. It affords, on the second floor, three cells against an inner wall, which contain in all four beds. In each cell is an open toilet and, in one corner of the entrance space, a dirty wash-stand. The plumbing appears to be old and unsanitary. The Women's quarters are reached through devious narrow passageways, at the end of one of which, the entrance to the cell room, is the matron's desk. Back of the room is the station's court room. The place is dark and cheerless and frequently very crowded.

## SOUTH CHICAGO STATION

At this station, two cells with one bed each are provided for women. They open from the matron's room on the first floor. In the open space before them is a bench and a sink with running water. Each cell has a toilet, but there are no bathing facilities. "The fronts and roofs of the cells are barred. There is no separation of sounds."<sup>(a)</sup> This small space is said to be adequate for this district, as "women are seldom held here over night." Many of the offenders are mothers of families and are allowed to sign their own bonds and return to their children.

## WEST CHICAGO AVE. STATION

This is understood to be the only station on the North Side, now used for women's detention. Women are held in a space at the back of the building behind the court room on the second floor. There are five cells, one of which contains four beds, which give this station capacity for eight women. At the time of recent visits, these quarters were clean. But the place is dark and dingy. The matron must work entirely by artificial light, as no daylight penetrates to the outer enclosure in which her desk is placed. The North Side was formerly equipped with two Detention Homes for Women, which closed last year, for reasons to be discussed later.

(a) *Institution Quarterly*, March 31, 1916, p. 82.



## GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

In all of these lockups, the quarters set apart for women are mere adjuncts to the detention equipment for men. Their total capacity is about fifty women. As is apparent from the above description, practically no segregation of different classes of prisoners is possible in these crowded stations. It is still not uncommon to find in them boys and girls whose proper place pending investigation or hearing is the Juvenile Detention Home. As the State Inspector of Jails has reported, "The clean young first offender is exposed to the contagion of vermin and the most repulsive diseases, and to the greater danger of moral contagion. These dangers are not occasional in the Chicago Stations; they are continuous. They exist twenty-four hours a day every day in the year."<sup>(a)</sup>

These quarters for women are presided over by 34 matrons, on shifts, many of whom have been in the service for years. In addition to guarding their prisoners, looking after their material needs, accompanying them at times in the patrol wagons, the matrons are expected to keep record of prisoners' statements as to name, age, nationality, occupation, civil status, and charge. No record is kept of alcoholism, drug addiction, health or mental state. There is no authorized social service and no attempt at preventive work with the persons who are arrested and brought in again and again.

Some of the matrons are among the most bitter complainants over the lack of ordinary provision for cleanliness, over the fact that women cannot properly wash nor bathe, over the lack of sterilization for the towels and bedding that must serve all, too frequently with no change.

There are no facilities for preparing meals at any of the stations. The regular jail fare of sausage, bread without butter, coffee without cream or sugar, is brought in from outside and furnished for all alike. If prisoners have money the matrons or janitors will usually buy food or fruit for them.

There is no provision for occupation nor recreation. The only relief from stagnation occurs on Sundays when religious workers visit the stations and hold services.

During the war a more modern system of detention for women was attempted, in the opening of three police "Detention Homes." The experiment was not regarded by the Police Department as successful, but requires mention in any presentation of this stage of the treatment of women offenders in Chicago.

### 3. THE THREE DETENTION HOMES EXPERIMENT

Criticism of the condition of Chicago's police stations led in January, 1915, to a City Council appropriation, contingent on a bond issue of \$1,199,000, "for building new or remodeling existing police stations." Under the heading "Stations for Women Prisoners" there was appropriated as a part of this sum:

\$15,000 for remodeling the Cottage Grove Ave. Station
\$25,000 for remodeling the present Maxwell St. Station and installing a Morals Court
\$ 5,000 for remodeling the present Hudson Ave. Station
<hr/>
\$45,000

(a) *Institution Quarterly*, March 31, 1916, pp. 86, 88.

For three years, as far as women offenders were concerned, the appropriation lay dormant. Objections to the three-station plan had been raised by women's civic groups who believed that one central women's detention home should be established. In the fall of 1918, however, three renovated police stations, the "Hudson Ave." at 1501 Hudson Ave., the "West North Ave." at 2256 West North Ave., and the "Stanton Ave." at 454 E. 35th St., were reopened and christened "Detention Homes for Women," Numbers I, II, and III, respectively. There was apparently a sincere desire on the part of then Acting Chief of Police Alcock to create a new procedure in the detention of women accused of crime. A Women's Advisory Committee, composed of representatives of civic and social agencies, was created, and was furnished with headquarters in Chief Alcock's offices.

Detention Homes II and III, though freshly scrubbed and painted, were located in old two-story buildings, where segregation of the various types of women and girls was practically impossible. Each had a capacity of 20 beds, in dormitory space. Detention Home I, a three-story building, was far more commodious, and, with the addition of partitions, could easily have lent itself to the separation of prisoners. The second-floor dormitory contained "24 beds, a small bedroom, a room for the matrons and several small rooms with shower baths, lavatories and toilets. On the third floor were two large dormitories, one small bedroom, lavatory and toilet rooms."<sup>(a)</sup> Classification of prisoners, however, was never in fact effected. The third floor was rarely if ever used. The first-floor cells were used for a time "for male prisoners brought in by the homicide squad." In the second-floor dormitory, all the women prisoners of every degree of offense and condition, lost children and the homeless mingled freely together, using the same drinking cups, towels, lavatories and toilets, and too often, the same bedding. Never, during the three-year experiment, were these "detention homes" equipped with enough bedding to afford a regular change "between prisoners." The Woman's Advisory Committee issued frequent recommendations on this point as well as on many others. Recommendations, however, were not acted upon and the Committee finally ceased to function.

Women were never placed in charge of these institutions. Police matrons, of course, were assigned to the dormitories, but each Detention Home was presided over by a Lieutenant and three Desk Sergeants. It soon became customary to hold men also at these stations, in basement or first-floor cells. Many children also found their way into these stations, owing, it was stated, to the frequent overcrowding or quarantine of the Juvenile Detention Home. At Detention Home III alone, in 1919, 820 Juveniles were held.<sup>(a)</sup> Women began to be taken to other police stations, and soon the experiment had disintegrated. "During the summer and early fall of 1921, the three Detention Homes for Women were abandoned, and the Police Department returned to the practice of holding women" arrested "at the district stations," described in the foregoing section.

Undoubtedly, the overhead expense involved in the operation of the three

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(a) "The Municipal House of Detention. A Report for the year 1919," by Harriet Comstock, Field Agent, U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board.

was a large factor in their discontinuance. It has been estimated that the cost per person held at these institutions in 1919 approximated from \$12.00 to \$15.00, expensive lodging,<sup>(a)</sup> truly in view of the fact that many remained only a single night. It would appear that the Three Detention Home experience amply sustained the prior contention of the City-County Crime Commission that the number of women arrested is not large enough to warrant provision in three stations.

Just how large a detention problem the arrested women of this City and County do present is made clear in the following pages.

## II. SIZE OF DETENTION HOME NEEDED, AS SHOWN BY NUMBERS OF WOMEN DETAINED IN CHICAGO AND COOK COUNTY

### 1. NUMBER OF WOMEN ARRESTED IN CHICAGO

#### Daily

"Every twenty-four hours of the year," wrote Miss Ida Tarbell in 1913, "there is collected from the streets of New York City, and taken before judges of its common courts, a stream of women, usually between twenty and thirty years of age, who in the eyes of the officers arresting them are guilty of breaking some law of the State or ordinance of the City. This stream of girlhood and womanhood never ceases. There are days when its volume is fuller than others, but it rarely falls under forty—night after night it reaches fifty or more. It has its seasons. In summer-time the inflow of prostitution is greatest; at Christmas-time of larceny." In almost the same words might Chicago, in 1922, describe its stream of women who find their way, through officers of the law, into its police stations and jail. The stream in Chicago varied, on ordinary days in 1921, from 15 to 40, but most frequently, on eighty-one days of the year, it numbered between 25 and 30. (Table B-1). Occasionally it rose to 45 or 50. On two days of 1921, it reached 59, and, on another 63. It dropped, in the early days of 1921, to 3 or 4 or 5 on seven days in January. On eleven days of the same month, it did not exceed 10.

#### Monthly

In fact, January may be described as the "lightest" month of the year 1921; July, August and September as the "heaviest." (Table B-2). It follows that in those months the population of the police station tends to increase. Irrespective of those charged with violation of traffic ordinances, for whom court summons, not detention, is employed, 303 women for whom detention quarters might have been required, were arrested in January; in July, 1041; in August, 1180; and in September, 972. During February and during November, between 600 and 650 women were arrested; during March and December between 700 and 800; during April, May, June and October between 850 and 880.

#### Annually

The total number of women arrested in 1921 was 10,555; in 1920 it was

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(a) Ibid.



7467; in 1919, 8469. During the war years, the number rose in 1918 to 10,396; in 1917, to 13,685, dropping slightly in 1916, to 11,280; but in 1915 and 1914, reaching, respectively, 14,671 and 14,415.<sup>(a)</sup>

## 2. ADDITIONAL WOMEN HELD

The number of women arrested, however, does not represent the whole number of women who may be detained in police lock-ups. Among the latter, are a considerable number who are held as witnesses or as suspects, who, because the evidence against them is insufficient, are not formally charged with violation of law; in other words, are not "booked" by the police. Others there are, listed in the matron's records as "runaways," "strays," "lost," "lodgers," etc., some of whom have sought the stations voluntarily, for advice or help. These numbers tend at present to augment the population of police stations. During one month for instance, December, 1921, according to facts furnished by the Police Department, the "number of women handled" in the various police stations exceeded the number against whom charges were placed by 112, or an average of 3 or 4 a day for that month. That many of these, during the period while plans are worked out for them, could be cared for in institutions such as the Chicago Woman's Shelter, the Sarah Hackett Stevenson Memorial Lodging House, the Chicago Home for the Friendless, the Traveler's Aid Home, the Melisa Evans Club, or other agencies of a lodging house nature appears entirely feasible. The provision really needed for these "innocents" in a police detention home is insignificant. A detention home for women might well act as a clearing house for such cases, but it would seem to be far preferable to give them shelter for the night in institutions such as those above mentioned.

## 3. EFFECT OF BAIL ON SIZE OF DETENTION HOME NEEDED

Not all the women actually arrested and held in Chicago remain in police stations or the County Jail over night. A certain proportion, of course, secure bail. Accurate and complete bail-bond records classified by sex, are kept neither by the Police, nor by the State's Attorney, nor by the clerks of the Municipal or Criminal Courts. From the various branches of the Municipal Court where women's cases are chiefly heard, that is, the Morals Court, and the branches at the "Harrison Street Annex," at Maxwell, and at Chicago Ave. Stations, estimates fix the number of women who secure bail at three to four thousand a year. The Municipal Court Clerk keeps a record of bail-bonds issued to persons charged with "Criminal offenses," understanding by that term, persons alleged to have violated state laws as distinguished from city ordinances. Among those persons, as nearly as could be estimated, there were about 900 women in 1921. The State's Attorney, in a separate set of records, tabulates the bail-bonds issued to persons charged with crime, as their cases proceed upward from the jurisdiction of the lower court. Among those who secured bail through this channel in 1921, the cases of 105 women were counted. It is, therefore, seen if last year may be accepted as typical, that four to five thousand women secure bail annually. This figure represents a group which reduces the jail and police station population by eleven to fourteen a day, and demon-

(a) Figures for 1921 furnished by Secretary to Superintendent of Police. For previous years figures are from Annual Reports of Police Department of Chicago as follows: 1914, p. 11; 1915, p. 13; 1916, p. 21; 1917, p. 21; 1918, p. 21; 1919, p. 22; 1920, p. 16.

strates the fact that detention quarters need not be provided for all arrested women whose cases are not immediately disposed of.

That there is opportunity for still further reduction of the woman police station population in future may be gathered from an examination of the records of women convicted in Chicago.

#### 4. RELATION OF NUMBERS OF WOMEN CONVICTED TO SIZE OF DETENTION HOME

Of the thousands of women arrested, a very large proportion, as in New York, are dismissed when they come to trial, "because of insufficient evidence, or of some circumstance which convinces the magistrate that clemency is wisdom." (a) Police Department Reports do not record the number of women convicted in Chicago, so that a comparison with those arrested cannot be made. A very important relation, however, exists between the number of charges against women and the number of convictions. (Table B-3). In 1921 there were 3551 convictions of women in court; 10,857 charges against women. In 1920, the totals were 2345 convictions, 7696 charges. In 1918, there were 3248 convictions of women by Municipal and Criminal Courts; in 1917, 4727 convictions; in 1916, 3727; in 1915, 6880; in 1914, 7210. A glance at the above mentioned table reveals the large numbers of women whose cases must either never have come to trial or have been dismissed when they were heard in court. In 1914, the percentage of convictions to charges was 48.6. Since that time, the percentage of women's convictions has dropped even lower, to 45.1 per cent in 1915; to 32.1 per cent in 1916; rising to 33.6 per cent in 1917, dropping in 1918 and 1920 to 30.5 per cent and in 1921 as low as 23.4 per cent. Great discrepancy between the numbers of police charges and numbers of convictions is not a new discovery. The City Council Committee on Crime in 1915 set forth that fact, reinforced by detailed statistical analyses, and made clear the waste and dangers involved, facts to which further allusion is made in other parts of the Jail Survey.

Aside from the broader considerations arising out of the large excess of charges and arrests over convictions, that fact is significant from the standpoint of the size of detention quarters needed for women. Forty-eight and six-tenths per cent, it must be remembered, was the highest proportion during the last eight years, of convictions of women in court to charges against women. Hand in hand with a more discriminating consideration of offenders in court, which might be expected to change the percentage of women convicted, should undoubtedly go more discrimination in making arrests. The latter course will, without question, reduce the number of women held in detention.

It is therefore seen, by way of summary, that of the possible 50 or 60 women arrested in a day in Chicago, exclusive of those charged with violation of traffic ordinances and not held in lock-ups, 11 to 14 per day secure bail. This means that police detention quarters need not provide for more than 50 women. This figure does not include, as heretofore pointed out, those now held in police stations, but not "booked," for whom provisions are elsewhere available. It does include those arrested, but later discharged by the courts, a considerable number of whom, as police and court procedure are improved,

(a) "What Shall Be Done with the Young Prostitute," Ida Tarbell, 1913, p. 3.

will cease to fill up undeserved quarters of incarceration. So that, from the City's standpoint, at present, even during its "heavy" arrest periods, space for 50 women may be considered adequate.

Cook County, as will be seen, adds to this group of women, about 30 more, necessitating detention quarters in both city and county, at present, for 80 women in all.

## 5. DAILY WOMAN POPULATION IN THE COUNTY JAIL

### Total Number Held

At the present time, as far as can be ascertained from the records, the number of women ordinarily detained at any one time in the county jail, ranges from 25 to 35. On April 3, 1922, the opening of the spring Criminal Court Session, there were 32 women. On March 6, the opening of the previous session, there were 34. On February 6, there were 27 women; on January 2, 29; on December 5, 29.

Unfortunately, the County Jail does not maintain a regular record of the daily number of women held in that institution. That number is obtainable only for the first Mondays of each month, which are the dates of the openings of the Criminal Court Sessions, or for the two dates in the year, June 1st and December 1st, when the jail register is transferred to a new book. On the first Monday of each month, an inventory of the jail population is made, classified by cause of detention, for the Clerk of the Criminal Court. Since the prisoners' names are listed, it is possible to count the number of probable women under each classification. In case of doubt as to names, since adequate detention quarters are in question, the larger, rather than the smaller number, was accepted.

For twelve days during the last Jail fiscal year, the numbers of women held, ran as follows: November 8, 1921, 27 women; October 3, 25 women; September 6, 21 women; August 1, 16 women; July 6, 19 women; June 11, 18 women; May 3, 16 women; April 4, 18 women; March 7, 14 women; February 7, 21 women; January 3, 20 women; December 6, 23 women. In other words, records show a daily woman population in 1921 ranging from 14 to 27. During the previous year, the number on the first Mondays of October, and November, dropped to 9, but ranged to 20 on the first Mondays of June and July.

Table B-4 sets forth the woman jail population on given dates, from the standpoint of numerical frequency.

### Number Serving Jail Sentence

The number of women serving jail sentence at any one time is relatively small. Upon the first Mondays of the months of the current year, as well as those during 1920 and 1921, the number never exceeded five. It reached that number only on four first Mondays. On six Mondays, the number serving jail sentence was only one. At other times the women numbered two or three or four. Though these numbers are small, in view of jail overcrowding the use to which each cell is devoted is extremely important. There is every reason to believe that the immediate transfer of sentenced women to the Woman's Department of the House of Correction would be a simple matter. In that institution there is at present, in both the men's and women's quarters, much





Women's quarters, Cook County Jail.—The dining Room.  
Photo by F. P. Burke).

unused space. Moreover, when the local Woman's House of Shelter finally becomes a reality and supplants the Woman's Department of the Workhouse, it is to be hoped that women prisoners sentenced because of petty offenses may be given a type of corrective treatment which neither the jail nor the Workhouse affords.

#### Number Awaiting Trial on Indictment

The largest group of women held in the County Jail are those awaiting trial in the Criminal Court. On April 3, 1922, there were 21 women "awaiting trial on indictment;" on March 6, 1922, there were 20; on February 6, 11; on January 2, 1918, and on December 5, 17. During the jail fiscal year 1921, the highest number awaiting trial at the opening of any Criminal Court session was 13, on November 8, 1921; the next highest, 10, on February 7, 1921. During the previous jail fiscal year, the number of such women was 11 on three first Mondays, 12 on another, and ranged from 4 to 7 at other Criminal Court sessions.

#### Number Awaiting Action of the Grand Jury

In the other two stages of criminal procedure, there are fewer women in the County Jail awaiting action. The group awaiting action of the Grand Jury at the opening of Criminal Court sessions is apparently not larger than six. In fact, it reached that number on only three of the opening Mondays, all in the Jail fiscal year 1921. During the present year, this group has varied from two to five. During the year 1920, on one first Monday there were five women awaiting action of the Grand Jury; on two Mondays the group numbered three; on three Mondays, two; on four Mondays there was only one woman each, held for the Grand Jury; on two Mondays, none.

#### Awaiting Action Municipal Court

This group is somewhat larger, ranging from one to six women, but more often numbering three or four.

Based on available records, it appears, therefore, that, exclusive of those undergoing sentence, the whole group of women in the County Jail, during the last two years, has not exceeded 31, and that it most frequently numbered between 12 and 18. It seems reasonably safe to conclude that Cook County's detention quarters for women pending trial at any one time, need not exceed equipment for 20 to 25 women.

#### Length of Time in Jail

The length of time women are held in the County Jail varies from a day to a year or more. For the small group who constitute a day's woman population at the County Jail, a computation, related to reason for release from jail, was made for those present on December 1, 1920 (Table B-5). Of those 31 women, six secured bail either in Municipal or Criminal Court and were released from jail within a month. Four were sentenced, two to the House of Correction, one each to the Penitentiary, and "The Reformatory." Whether by the latter is meant the State Training School for girls of Juvenile Court age at Geneva, since Illinois has no Woman's Reformatory, the jail records do not disclose. The three women who were sent to the Bridewell and Joliet each spent between two and four months in the Jail before they were sentenced. The other spent

more than five months there before she was sent to "the Reformatory." Whether that institution could readily influence her to "reform," after so long a jail experience, is doubtful. Six of the 31 women in this day's population were, at some time during their stay, sentenced to the County Jail itself. One spent a total length of time in that institution of 258 days, or between eight and nine months; another, of 367 days, or a year and two days. The terms of the other four ranged from two to six and a half months. Five women out of the day's population were finally, after from two or three months in jail, placed on probation. If they were candidates for probation at first, one wonders whether the social treatment of their crimes could have been aided by the preceding period of jail incarceration. One of the very foundation stones of probation is the assumption that it should begin before the offender is schooled in crime or associates with criminals. Three other women, after ten to thirty days in the Jail, are entered upon the records as "not returned from the Municipal Court." Presumably, their offenses were petty. Five of the 31 women were not convicted in any court; three having been "no-billed" by the Grand Jury; and two having been found not guilty by the Criminal Court. Three of these five women spent from ten to twenty days in jail, one spent almost two months, and the other, almost five months. Two women held in the jail on the day under observation were finally "delivered to the U. S. Marshal," one after seven days in jail, another after one hundred and eighteen days.

The futility of the present jail phase of the treatment of women offenders stands out after a cursory study of even a few of those who are incarcerated. It is dangerous for any community to provide a Tomb where arrested persons may be sent and forgotten, while the law drags out its weary way. Rapid, searching, comprehensive investigation while the accused person awaits trial not only makes for justice and social safety, but, from a utilitarian standpoint, cuts down the size of a jail or detention home which a community must support. It would manifestly be folly to build and maintain women's detention quarters large enough to make the law's delays convenient. What the unnecessary delays are, and some possible remedies, will be elaborated upon elsewhere in this Jail Survey. Until they are corrected, there will run through the woman's daily detention population of this community, adding to its size, a group somewhat under 30 in number, for whom space will for a time be demanded. In fact, omitting those sentenced, these are the jail women, a group that will steadily diminish in size as criminal court procedure is improved.

### III. CHARACTER OF WOMEN POPULATION OF THE COUNTY JAIL AND CITY POLICE STATIONS

#### 1. AGE

##### County Jail

Perhaps the most striking fact in the consideration of the types of women prisoners in the police stations and jail is their comparative youth. Three hundred and twenty out of a total of 477, or two-thirds of those held in the County Jail during the fiscal year 1921, were, according to jail records (Table B-6), not more than thirty years of age. In 1920, the proportion was even



higher—73 per cent. In 1919, 1916 and 1914, the other recent years for which jail reports are available, the percentage of women thirty years or under ranged from 55 per cent to 65 per cent. Young women and girls under twenty-one years of age, moreover, some of them still juveniles, comprise from 10 per cent to 19 per cent of the annual woman jail population.

#### Among All Women Arrested

In the city as a whole, police statistics (Table B-7), show likewise that more than half of all the women arrested are not more than thirty years of age. From 6 per cent to 10 per cent of all arrested are girls under twenty-one years of age. In 1921, 53 girls of Juvenile Court age (Table B-8), five of whom were only fifteen years old, one as young as fourteen, were arrested by the police. This little group, of course, should never be taken to police stations. For them, the City and County long ago provided quarters in a Juvenile Detention Home adapted to their age.

The "older girls", from eighteen to twenty-one years of age, form an almost constant element among those "picked up" each day by the police. During 1921, there were twenty-four days, to be sure, when no girls of these ages were arrested, fifty-two days upon each of which, one "older girl" was arrested (Table B-9). Upon each of one hundred and forty-four days, two or three girls from eighteen to twenty-one were apprehended, and upon one hundred and forty-four other days, from four to ten. The number of girls of these ages arrested in any one day mounted once during the year to eleven.

These are the girls noticed first as incorrigibles, who are "difficult in school," have tendencies to waywardness, are stubborn perhaps, emotionally unstable, nervous or "silly," who emerge from adolescence with very little guidance. Some are from broken or demoralized homes, or from homes where recreation is unknown. Some have come from small towns or country places and have found the big city confusing at first, and, in the end, exciting and overpowering; "young women," as Miss Addams says, "whose undisciplined minds are fatally assailed by the subtleties and sophistries of city life, and who have lost their bearing in the midst of a multitude of new imaginative impressions."<sup>(a)</sup> "It is a noteworthy fact," says a recent Municipal Court Report, "that from sixty to ninety per cent of cases brought in the Morals Court are those of girls coming from small adjacent towns or from rural districts."<sup>(b)</sup> The very awkwardness of their first mis-step invites the attention of the police. The real problem with the young woman offender, is not the relatively simple determination of whether or not she is guilty of the "crime" with which she is charged. It is rather the discovery of the contributing circumstances which have caused her arrest and the formulation of a plan for her future course. During the detention period, while such a plan is developed, she should obviously not be subjected to the influence of "old and hardened offenders." Any wisely built detention home will therefore make careful separate provision for the younger members of its household in whose future lies so much ground for hope.

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(a) "A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil," Jane Addams, 1912, p. 215.

(b) "Morals Court," Judge Arnold Heap, p. 148, Report of Municipal Court of Chicago, 1917-1920.

## 2. CHARGE

### County Jail Women

The type of offense charged, coupled with youth, gives added weight to the argument for careful classification of offenders. There are girls of eighteen and nineteen, barely over Juvenile Court age, and girls in the early twenties held in the County Jail on charges of "delinquency," "disorderly conduct," "obtaining money or goods by false pretenses," "larceny." (Table B-10), In 1921, in the County Jail there were two girls of seventeen, juveniles, one held for forgery, the other for assault with a deadly weapon and fornication, charges so far-reaching as to warrant the most careful investigation, before trial, by a skilled probation officer, a period of quiet detention, and a hearing under the rightful jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court. The legal line between juveniles and adults is often, in the light of an individual's sensitiveness and mouldability, indistinct and artificial. There are other young women of impressionable years held for trial upon serious charges, who profit, as does the community at large, by the same type of treatment as that now established for their younger sisters.

An examination of the charges upon which women at the County Jail are annually held reveals a wide range. For a number varying, during the years 1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, and 1921, from 100 to 422, the County Jail records only show "Violation of Municipal Code." Under that classification are presumably many of the petty misdeeds. Among the 40 or more offenses listed, by far the most frequent charge is larceny (Table B-11). During the years above mentioned, from 120 to 179 women annually found their way into the County Jail because they were believed guilty of this crime; 13 to 26 because believed guilty of robbery; 10 to 21 of receiving stolen property; 4 to 46 of burglary. During each of those years, the County Jail held a group of women varying from 7 to 31 charged with "confidence game," from 3 to 23, with the exception of none in 1920, charged with fornication; from 1 to 19, charged with assault or assault and battery. In 1921, 3 women were held in the County Jail charged with murder, in 1920, 7; and in 1919, 6; while in 1916 and 1914 the number of women in the County Jail charged with that crime was 32 and 23 respectively.

It is evident that women charged with murder, or with other serious crimes such as adultery, bigamy, embezzlement, forgery, etc., should be held in detention quarters separate from women charged with less serious offenses, and moreover, in rooms separate from each other. The woman who has never been guilty of a sex offense should not occupy quarters with women to whom fornication, soliciting or pandering are familiar.

### Among All Women Arrested

The proportion which these offenses bear among all the women arrested in the city are apparent in an examination of Police Department figures. In 1920, for instance, 1266 women were arrested in Chicago on felony charges; 6201 on charges classed as misdemeanors. (Table B-12). An overwhelmingly large proportion were charged with disorderly conduct; 3652, or 48 per cent, of a total of 7467 women arrested. Nine hundred and seventy-five were alleged inmates of disorderly houses. Nine hundred and thirty were

charged with larceny. In both of these groups, the younger women were present in strikingly larger numbers. It is outside the province of this report to enter into a detailed discussion of crime. The range of charges, however, points to wide variety in the background, the motives and the possibilities of those who are alleged to be guilty, and to the individual treatment they require. Such selective treatment during the detention period must obviously begin with the classification and separation of the different types of offenders.

### 3. NUMBER OF TIMES ARRESTED

Quite as important as the type of offense, in the segregation of persons pending trial, is the fact of possible recidivism. Among the group held in any jail there are those who have been arrested not only once, but twice and oftener. Until there is established an adequate system of detecting old offenders by a wider use of finger prints, by means of a Central Bureau of Criminal Records and by clearance with other cities, there can, of course, be no accurate classification of accused persons according to repetition of offense.

At the present time, however, County Jail records do indicate the number of times inmates admit having been arrested. In the woman population, as may be seen from Table B-13, 22 per cent of those held in the jail in 1921 admitted one previous arrest, 10 per cent more admitted three or more arrests. The same general proportion maintains in the past-war year 1919. About 33 per cent of those held in the jail that year admitted previous arrests. In the pre-war year 1916, with a larger women population, about 38 per cent admitted previous arrests.

The number of arrests admitted, related to age and charge, reemphasizes the necessity for differentiation in treatment during detention. A woman charged with adultery or the confidence game, for instance, arrested for the fourth time; or alleged guilty of assault with a deadly weapon or of street walking arrested for the fifth time; or charged with larceny or robbery, arrested six or more times—these women, experienced in transgression, should clearly not be detained in the same quarters with women and girls for whom disorderly conduct, contempt of court or debt may be their first offenses, or with those whose only offense, as entered in jail records, is "safe-keeping." The figures relating to number of arrests, in Tables B-14, and B-15 as well as in Table B-13, are based upon unverified statements of the women, made at the time of their entry into the jail. Whether 33 per cent is an under or over-estimate of those with previous records cannot be ascertained. Regardless of the accuracy of the proportion, however, the fact remains that Cook County, like all other communities, has, among the women who reach its jail, old and new offenders and that it must, therefore, make separate provision in its place of detention for these differing types.

### 4. PHYSICAL CONDITIONS AND HABITS

It is axiomatic that, in a properly planned detention home for women, there should be adequate hospital and clinic facilities. That they need not be elaborate is determined by the fact that detention itself is to be regarded as a temporary matter. Among the women held in the County Jail are some who are afflicted with skin diseases, with syphilis and gonorrhea, with tuberculosis; others whose heart, lungs or general physical condition is in need of medical



attention. Undoubtedly, the maladies of many completely escape detection.

An eighteen-year old girl, for instance, was arrested last fall on a charge of grand larceny and taken to the County Jail to await action by the Grand Jury. She had a history of venereal disease, a Juvenile Court record showing her to be a psychopathic problem and, at the time of arrest, was pregnant. She was detained in the County Jail two months, during which time she received neither treatment for venereal disease, mental examination nor prenatal care. Upon her entrance into the jail, her throat and lungs were examined, but the jail had no record that she was pregnant or diseased or possibly sub-normal. A social worker from the State's Attorney's office, moreover, who presented those facts to the Grand Jury, was told that the Grand Jury could take no action in the matter and that nothing could be done until the time of trial. This girl was eventually sentenced to Joliet Penitentiary, without, however, any official recommendation, even at the time of her trial, that medical care should be supplied.

Another girl of nineteen, a runaway from Lawndale Hospital, arrested as an inmate of a house of prostitution and held as a witness against its keeper and owner, was, after her escape from the Hospital, detained in the County Jail a month, pending action in the Morals Court. By Lawndale Hospital her condition was regarded as serious. At the time of her admission, the County Jail was notified of her contagious disease and a request made for treatment. No treatment was given. When her case was heard, upon continuance, the Court ordered her transferred once more to Lawndale Hospital. At the end of one more month, she was dismissed by both the Hospital and the Morals Court and allowed to leave the city with her father, who had come from a neighboring state to take her home. The possibilities of physical and moral contagion during that unnecessary month under jail conditions can hardly be over-estimated.

According to jail records, as may be seen (Table B-16), 21 out of the 478 women held in 1921, were reported as having venereal disease; in 1920, 53, out of 434; in 1919, 39 out of 540. In other words, in none of those years was venereal disease detected in more than 12.5 per cent of the woman jail population. Even before wartime measures for the control of venereal disease were instituted, and before Lawndale Hospital began to draw women afflicted with such disease from the population of local penal institutions, the percentage of diseased women reported in the County Jail was unbelievably low. In the pre-war year 1916, the County Jail Annual Report records no women with syphilis, and only 12 out of 730, less than 2 per cent, with gonorrhea. In 1914, 26 out of 626 or 4 per cent of the annual population were found to have venereal disease. The actual prevalence of those diseases is certainly much greater, as is shown by the records of the American Social Hygiene Association, the U. S. Inter-departmental Social Hygiene Board and other Socio-medical agencies.

The latter Board, for instance, in its 1921 fiscal report, gives the results of a study, covering a two-year period of 15,010 women and girls in the United States, "whose conduct or circumstances brought them under the care of the Field Representatives" of that Board. A considerable proportion of them were definite offenders who had been arrested. Some were probation cases, and some so-called delinquents under semi-probation and supervision. Of the 6579 examined for syphilis, 2490, or about 38 per cent, were found

"positive." Of the 7382 examined for gonorrhea, 3757, or 48 per cent, were found "positive." An additional 492 were infected with "venereal disease, type not reported," and 436 more were reported "doubtful or suspicious."<sup>(a)</sup> So that the percentages 38 and 48 are probably somewhat understated.

The American Social Hygiene Association has concluded that "from all available data, perhaps 60 to 75 per cent is a reasonable estimate for venereal infection among prostitutes of all classes."<sup>(b)</sup> This percentage cannot, of course, be strictly applied to a jail population, for, it must be remembered, by no means all inmates have been concerned in prostitution.

The findings of women's correctional institutions are of interest in this connection. Out of 136 prisoners examined in 1921 at the State Reformatory for Women at Framingham, Mass., 22.7 per cent were found to have syphilis and 35.2 per cent gonorrhea.<sup>(c)</sup> A report from the Jefferson County Jail at Louisville, Ky.,<sup>(c)</sup> states that of 337 women examined during the period January, 1921, to May 27, 1922, 71.5 per cent were pronounced "venereal." At the State Industrial Farm for Women, Lansing, Kansas, a medical study of 206 delinquent women, made by the U. S. Public Health Service, revealed 31 per cent syphilitic and 93.6 per cent infected with gonorrhea.<sup>(d)</sup> At Bedford, New York's well known state reformatory for women, among 100 women examined for syphilis, 36 per cent were reported "positive."<sup>(e)</sup>

Studies of women delinquents in the courts corroborate the foregoing statistics to the prevalence of these diseases among woman offenders. In the Women's Misdemeanants' Division of the Philadelphia Municipal Court, of the 824 women examined during the first six months of 1920, "55.2 per cent were found to be infected."<sup>(f)</sup> During the same period, 28 per cent of the 968 cases of women arraigned in the Morals Court of Chicago were sent to Lawndale Hospital for examination or treatment.<sup>(f)</sup> It is understood, however, that not all of these sent were found to be diseased.

It is not the purpose of this report to arrive at an absolute percentage of women who are afflicted with venereal disease, for, as has been observed, "studies made of special groups, of differing ages and conditions at different times and places, differ greatly as to results."<sup>(b)</sup> It is important to note, however, that the percentages of venereally diseased women in the County Jail or in any detention home for women which might take its place would undoubtedly be greater than 12 per cent and that, without means of careful and complete detection and segregation, the opportunities for a spread of infection are great.

From the presence of tuberculosis patients similar dangers arise. The prevalence of tuberculosis in the population has become generally familiar. Public opinion now demands its treatment in specially equipped institutions. Advanced cases of tuberculosis would probably be quickly detected and re-

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(a) Report of the U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921, pp. 172, 173.

(b) "Prostitution in the United States," Howard B. Woolston, 1921, p. 54.

(c) Information from correspondence (May 1922).

(d) "Psychiatric Studies of Delinquents," U. S. Public Health Service, Reprint No. 598, pp. 13, 15.

(e) "A Study of Women Delinquents in New York State," by Mabel R. Fernald, Mary H. S. Hayes, and Almena Dawley, p. 409.

(f) "A Study of Specialized Courts Dealing with Sex Delinquency," American Social Hygiene Assn., II., p. 78, I. p. 376.



moved to a hospital. Cases in earlier stages require separation from close contact with others in a detention home, if their health is to be properly protected.

Public opinion also supports the removal of the mentally deficient, some of whom are found in any considerable group of persons charged with crime. No such types of women are recorded in the annual reports of the County Jail available over the last eight years, with the exception of 1914 when two "mentally deficient" women are noted. Yet the striking incidence of mental incapacity or instability is brought out in every careful study of women offenders. The Massachusetts White Slave Commission reported that out of 300 sex offenders examined in institutions, less than 45 per cent were normal; 51 per cent were feeble-minded.<sup>(a)</sup> At Bedford Reformatory after an examination of several hundred women and girls, it was found that, as "an extremely conservative estimate," 29.8 per cent were "decidedly mentally defective."<sup>(b)</sup> Of the 740 women mentally examined in the Woman's Misdemeanants' Division of the Philadelphia Municipal Court during the first half of 1920, only 60.4 per cent were found to be normal.<sup>(c)</sup> Mental examination of the women population of Illinois' penitentiary at Joliet, made in April, 1920 by the State Criminologist, revealed the fact that only eight out of the 35 women for whom a mental diagnosis was established tested normal.<sup>(d)</sup>

Also, among women in detention, there are drug addicts or alcoholics, some of whom become violent or irresponsible and need special care. Where these types are present in sufficient number to justify it, special quarters in a detention home must be set apart for them. A study of 647 girls and women at Bedford Hills in New York, found 17.3 per cent addicted to the "excessive use of alcoholic drinks, drugs, and cigarettes."<sup>(b)</sup> The tabulation of "Habits of Women" (Table B-17), copied from the Jailer's Annual Reports shows that similar problems arise also in this community among the patients with whom a detention home must deal.

The health and habits of women offenders are significant as indications of the kind of treatment to be employed. During the period while those accused must await trial, the medical service should involve thorough examination with a view to the detection of disease for purposes of segregation and the treatment of minor ailments. For those so seriously ill as to require bedside care, hospital facilities should be afforded in the community outside.

## 5. NATIONALITY

Ordinary classifications of nationality hold many possibilities of overlapping and error, particularly those which have been maintained without modification through the changes resulting from the war. The nationality and nativity figures derived from the jailer's records or the reports of the Police Department fail to distinguish the newer nationalities. They do, however, make clear one important fact—the absolute necessity of interpreters in any

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(a) "Prostitution in the United States," Howard B. Woolston, Ph. D., 1921, p. 58.

(b) "A Study of Prostitutes at Bedford," Katherine Bement Davis, pp. 196, 198, Chapter IX of "Commercial Prostitution in New York," George J. Kneeland.

(c) "Misdemeanants' Division of the Philadelphia Municipal Court," p. 78, Report by American Social Hygiene Association, 1922.

(d) Facts furnished (May, 1922) through the courtesy of Dr. Herman M. Adler, State Criminologist.



intelligent treatment and disposition of persons arrested. The large majority of women arrested in Chicago are, to be sure, American. In 1921, for instance, 58 per cent were white American women (Table B-18). But there are others from countries whose manners, customs and tongues are unfamiliar in American circles, such as Chinese, Greeks, Swiss, Danes. Among those held in the County Jail, next to the English-speaking nationalities, there is seemingly the greatest need for interpreters for the Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, Bulgarian, and Italian, women (Table B-19). The need is very apparent to anyone who has observed the frantic, or the baffled, hunted expression of the foreign-speaking women in jail. An Italian woman, seen upon a recent visit to the County Jail, had been arrested the night before upon the complaint of a neighbor who charged assault and battery. A physical encounter had taken place in the kitchen of the accused woman's home—whither her neighbor had come to settle a matter of grocery credit on the one hand, and a loan of \$6.00 on the other. After the dispute, the Italian woman was taken into custody by the police, brought in the morning before the Police Court Judge, given a continuance, and because she could not furnish \$1000 bail, was promptly locked up in the County Jail. She had left at home four little children under six years of age, the youngest a nursing baby of six months. Her husband appealed to the District office of the United Charities, from which his family had been compelled to seek relief during times of unemployment. While the Infant Welfare Society prepared modified milk feedings for the baby, the United Charities procured a bondsman and legal assistance for the mother, and within a day had secured her release. When her case was heard in the Police Court, some two or three weeks later, the two women signed a peace bond, and the Italian family promptly moved out of the neighborhood. The case of this woman in its larger aspects illustrates the hardships which a rigid rule of criminal procedure inflicts upon the ignorant, the poverty-stricken or the friendless. A complaint department of a probation service could undoubtedly have brought about a prompt and simple adjustment between two mild disturbers of the peace. In its immediate aspects, the opportunity to state her case at the place of detention when first arrested to one who understood her own language would probably have obviated the unfortunate commitment to jail.

Discussion of the charges, many of them of an intricate nature, upon which women of all nationalities are arrested, need not here be reiterated. A study of charges related to nativity, however (Table B-20), adds one more point to the argument for careful and adequate preliminary investigations, of which the interpreter's function is an inseparable part.

## 6. COLOR

The fact of color has not manifested itself as a separate problem in the detention of women either in the County Jail or elsewhere in Chicago. About one-third of those who made up the annual women population in 1921, 1919 and 1916, as may be seen from Table B-6, were colored women. The proportion was less in 1920, or about one-fifth, and in 1914, about one-fourth. Of the total number arrested in Chicago in 1921, only 19 per cent were colored. (Table B-18). White and colored women in the County Jail mingle during the hours spent outside of their cells in the "bull pens," with apparently no

difficulties arising out of racial difference. In the general living conditions of a woman's detention home, outside of individual's rooms, Chicago has little reason to suppose that a color line would be demanded.

## 7. EDUCATION

The jailer's records regarding the education of the women detained, show in all the recent years for which records are available an overwhelming majority who had not advanced beyond the grammar grades. Six per cent of those held in the County Jail in 1921 had not reached the fifth grade. Eight per cent in that year, nine per cent in 1914, were illiterate (Table B-21). While it is, of course, expected that with improved judicial procedure, the period of detention will become progressively shorter, and that any period of training would therefore not continue long, so low an educational equipment manifestly points to an obligation to extend to these women some form of elementary education. That a method of elementary education may be devised for temporary adult pupils was demonstrated during the war among the illiterate men found in the U. S. Army.

## 8. OCCUPATION

Occupation is of primary significance in the case treatment of women offenders. During the period while the accused awaits trial, occupation is important as a normalizing influence and as a beginning in rehabilitation. From the standpoint of economy, it is important, as well, in the internal administration of a detention home. The largest group of women in the County Jail, as may be seen from Table B-22, are housewives. Domestic, waitresses and seamstresses come next. After "factory hands," in numerical frequency, come laundry workers, and after clerks, cooks. It would appear a practical measure to count upon the assistance of detained women for the ordinary household tasks. The development of suitable occupations, during the brief period of incarceration, could quite simply be accomplished by a capable matron or superintendent.

# IV. PLANS FOR A CENTRAL DETENTION HOME

## 1. FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT NEEDED

This tide of women and girls who are gathered up for court decision as to their guilt or innocence requires a very careful observation and investigation if intelligent solutions of their individual problems are to be formulated. As a former Chief Probation Officer of Philadelphia points out: "Lawyers, social workers, policemen and citizens having contacts with the children's courts appreciate the value of municipal detention for children and the methods of treatment worked out in connection with the detention houses in the disposition of cases. Experience has proved that methods of treatment cannot be determined by chronological age alone. We should extend the methods developed in children's courts to apply to all ages, wiping out our arbitrary age line by improving the treatment of the older groups."<sup>(a)</sup>

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(a) Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin. See "Municipal Detention for Women," Proceedings National Conference of Social Work, 1918.

## Segregation

Such treatment necessitates first of all adequate segregation for all the varied types and classes of women and girls seventeen years of age and over "held for trial, remanded for sentence, or detained as material witnesses." For, as Miss Maude Miner of the New York Probation and Protective Association, has noted, "At the same time we find, perhaps, a young girl from a good family who has stolen a pair of silk stockings from a department store," a seventeen-year girl "charged by her mother with incorrigibility, several older women of the street or from disorderly resorts indulging in vulgar conversation, and two or three drug addicts calling loudly for drugs. The girl who is not immoral and may be innocent of the offense with which she is charged, associates with women hardened by lives of vice. A witness who is not accused of any offense mingles with older criminals." (a)

The figures presented in the foregoing section have made clear the presence of these and other types in Chicago's own police stations and jail. Here we find the old and young, repeated and new offenders, girls and women charged with only the most petty offenses, prisoners of every nationality and color, of many occupations and interests, of many creeds; women and girls who are illiterate and others who are college graduates; some who are seriously diseased, drug addicts, alcoholics; others who are mentally subnormal or unstable; others who are witnesses, runaways, homeless, or "innocents" held for investigation only. For all these groups varying methods of treatment are necessary, and, for that reason, separate room and dormitory space in a Women's Detention Home.

It is recommended that the second floor of the Women's Detention Home be devoted to segregation facilities for young women, first offenders, girls charged with minor offenses, and any "innocents," who cannot be provided with quarters in outside private institutions. The space upon this floor should be so divided and separated that individual segregation is easily possible, not only as to sleeping accommodations, but as to meals, occupations, and living room quarters as well.

It is recommended that the same system of separate living arrangements be established upon the third floor, and that it be devoted to the care of the older, more serious and repeated offenders.

The first floor should be preserved for office and court rooms alone, the need for which appears in the following pages.

## Morals Court

A detailed consideration of the various branches of the Municipal Court in which women's cases are heard, would extend beyond the proper limits of a report upon detention. Moreover, there are in existence special studies of that branch of the court which chiefly deals with women's cases, the Morals Court. One of these studies, unpublished, was made in 1916 by Miss Maude Miner of New York, well known in the correctional field; another made in 1921 by Miss Ruth Topping and Mr. George Worthington of the American Social Hygiene Association. (b) So bound together, however, are the Morals Court and the Detention Home for Women in the matter of the proper disposition of

(a) See Thirteenth Annual Report of the Association, 1921, p. 25.

(b) Published in "Social Hygiene," Oct. 1921. Vol. VII, No. 4.



cases, that some mention must here be made of the methods of that court. In cases of such wide social significance as those brought into this specialized court, no judge can make wise decisions without the assistance of preliminary social investigations. There is at present no continuous, organized social service in the Morals Court. Many of the girls and women now discharged are thrust back into their old environments without any guidance, during a period which is full of difficulties and temptations. One of the first principles of a modern Detention Home is that it shall contain the facilities for social investigation, a fact which links it inseparably to the functions of the judge.

Cases in the Morals Court are discharged in overwhelming numbers. Of a total of 4678 cases arraigned in that court in 1920, 3155 were discharged outright, 240 were discharged for want of prosecution; for eight, the disposition was *nolle pros.*, and for 24, non-suit. In other words, a total of 3427 cases, almost three-fourths of all cases heard in the Morals Court during 1920, were discharged without trial.<sup>(a)</sup> Comparison with the records of previous years reveals, in the main, similar proportions.<sup>(a)</sup> There is enormous social and economic loss in such fruitless revolution of public machinery. It should be subjected to more thoughtful inspection and analysis.

Among those who are eventually discharged are some hundreds afflicted or suspected of venereal disease who, upon court continuance or suspended sentence, have spent a period in Lawndale Hospital. In 1921, 802 cases, most of which were said to have been sent by the Morals Court, were cared for at Lawndale.<sup>(b)</sup> During the first half of 1920, the Hospital cared for 274 women, all except two of whom came from the Morals Court.<sup>(c)</sup> The weeks or months spent in this police-guarded hospital are akin to institutional commitment, and apparently constitute, in the mind of the judge, something of a substitute. It must be pointed out, however, that a court order to Lawndale occurs for the most part before conviction, is dependent not upon guilt, but upon disease. This "lock-hospital" can, therefore, never be regarded as a legitimate substitute for reformatory treatment. Before trial, the place for medical examination is the Detention Home. After conviction, the place for medical treatment, if the sentence is commitment, is the reformatory; if the patient is placed on probation, opportunities for treatment are to be found in the clinics or hospitals which the outside community affords.

Of those not discharged by the Morals Court, a few are placed on probation; a few are sent to the County Jail and House of Correction. But the vast majority are fined. In 1920, omitting 16 held to the Criminal Court, for whom the Municipal Court report contains no final disposition, out of a total of 1235 convicted, 13 were committed to the County Jail, 66 to the House of Correction. One hundred and sixty, or 13 per cent, were placed on probation; 996, or 81 per cent, fined.<sup>(a)</sup> It cannot be too often said that short jail and Bridewell sentences contribute nothing whatever to the social treatment of the woman offender. It was this conviction that led to the success of the movement for a bond issue,

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(a) "Morals Court," pp. 148-152. Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Annual Reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago, 1917-1920.

(b) Information from the Hospital Supt. (March, 1922).

(c) "The Morals Court of Chicago," "Social Hygiene," Oct., 1921, p. 376.

in 1915, providing for a Woman's House of Shelter to take the place of the cell-built Woman's Department of the House of Correction. In the same way was the Woman's Farm Colony enabling Act secured in 1919, providing in effect for a Woman's Reformatory. Unfortunately, nothing has resulted from this legislation. No location and no plans have been agreed upon for the House of Shelter. No appropriation has been made and no site selected for the State Farm Colony for Women. Until these two institutions become realities, every effort to deal successfully with the women and girls who are found to have violated the law, must prove abortive.

The above given figures indicate that the Morals Court makes comparatively little use of the Adult Probation Department. That Department is, to be sure, under-manned, and yet, day after day, when its representatives sit in attendance in the Court, neither is their presence recognized nor their assistance requested. They are only occasionally called upon to make preliminary investigations or to receive cases on formal probation. The official report of the City Council Committee on Crime made the following carefully considered recommendations as to adult probation:

"That the adult probation law be so amended as to make it obligatory upon the Court to (a) secure from probation officers a written report on a complete investigation of each applicant for probation, touching the question of previous convictions, arrests, habits of life, and family history; (b) Secure from the Psychopathic Laboratory a complete written report on his mental and physical condition; (c) file these reports with other proceedings in each case; (d) to make these reports decisive in determining the question of probation within the limits of the law; (e) forbid probation in cases of feeble-mindedness, insanity, dangerous infections, and such unstable conditions as render the applicant, in the judgment of experts, unable to adjust himself to normal conditions; (f) commit all such persons, on the recommendation of the probation officers and the Psychopathic Laboratory, to a farm colony or hospital until cured; (g) amend the law by removing the upper limit to the number of probation officers; (h) make only murderers and traitors exempt from probation; (i) create a non-partisan State Probation Commission with authority to fix the qualifications of probation officers, both adult and juvenile, and to prepare a certified list from which the court shall make appointments." (a) Those recommendations were of far-reaching importance. Yet the community has allowed seven years to elapse without effective action.

Reference has been made to the fact that the usual method of disposing of convicted women in the Morals Court is to impose fines upon them. This is, by common consent, the worst possible way of disposing of cases of this character. Its relation to the perpetuation of vice and the degradation of the women who must pay this tax has been pointed out by many competent observers. "As a means of dealing with offenders, whether patrons, prostitutes, or exploiters, fines are useless," writes Miss Miner. "They do not punish; they do not deter; they do not help. . . . They are so small that they do not result in effectively reducing profits of keepers and traffickers. Small fines are laughed at by girls who in a single night on the streets can make many times the amount of the fine. Large fines serve only to enslave a woman

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(a) Published 1915. See "General Summary of Recommendations," p. 151.



more, causing her to mortgage herself to pay for them, or encouraging association with a parasite dependent on her. If a woman goes to prison because of failure to pay a large fine, she is really imprisoned for debt. Since fines merely encourage offenders to continue illegal traffic, they practically license prostitution. We convict men and send them to prison for living on the earnings of prostitution, yet continue to receive into our city treasuries money which is the proceeds of prostitution. Our awakening conscience should no longer tolerate this. The fining system is a license system and should be abolished." (a) New York abolished fines for women convicted of similar offenses years ago. In 1911, the Vice Commission of Chicago recommended that "in dealing with prostitutes in the courts, fines should be abolished and imprisonment or an adult probation system substituted." (b) More than ten years have elapsed since that report was issued and yet the laws and ordinances which its acceptance involves have never been framed. It is respectfully submitted that cases of this character shall hereafter be heard and disposed of in a separate branch of the Municipal Court to be known as the Woman's Court.

### Woman's Court

Until the cases of women and girls are withdrawn from the docket of the present Morals Court and, like the cases of children, are heard under auspices equipped to learn the truth and intent upon rehabilitation, the significance of the court sentences will not be thoroughly scrutinized nor fully understood. When all matters which pertain to the arrest, detention and trial of women offenders are thus centralized, interested women's groups will be able to collect, study and disseminate telling evidence that the present disposition of woman's cases does not solve the problem that they present. They will be able to convince the public that newer methods are available and to push to consummation the following essential reforms in the present ineffectual procedure:

1. Abolition of fines for sex offenders.
2. The revision and improvement of the Adult Probation Law.
3. The building of the long delayed City House of Shelter.
4. The appropriation for the legally authorized State Farm Colony for Women.

There are added reasons for creation of a Woman's Court. Cases in the Morals Court are heard in an atmosphere which too often seems to accept the conditions it uncovers and which most certainly lures many of the morbidly curious. The Court Room in the City Hall and the corridors leading to it are crowded with witnesses, lawyers, bondsmen, spectators and loiterers. There is usually no attendant on guard at the door or even at the rail, to determine whether or not they have actual business in the Court. It is now a well-known fact that open solicitation and date-making is carried on in and about the Morals Court itself. Commotion and disorder are, under some judges, a usual condition of affairs. A court which presides over the destinies of girls and young women, which must hear recounted their history and habits, their mistakes and their most intimate experiences, should demand quiet and dignity and some measure

(a) "Slavery of Prostitution," Maude Miner, 1916, p. 152.

(b) "The Social Evil in Chicago," a Study of Existing Conditions with Recommendations by the Vice Commission of Chicago, 1911, p. 57.



of privacy. *The place for such a court is within the Detention Home for Women.*

Because then, the combination of court and detention in cases of women would:

1. Bring inseparably together the judge's function and the facilities for identification, examination and social investigation,

2. Focus the attention of the community upon the neglected field of care for women offenders,

3. Keep sharply before the public the handicaps toward rehabilitation,

4. Furnish opportunity for the quiet, intimate hearing of cases, upon which the successful judicial treatment of women and girls must be based, it is earnestly recommended that a central Detention Home for Women should contain court rooms with adjacent judge's chambers, "for a Woman's Branch of the Municipal Court, with which the present Morals Court should be incorporated."<sup>(a)</sup>

It is believed that two court rooms would prove adequate for the hearing of all women's cases brought before the Municipal Court in a day. No accurate figures are available showing either the daily or the annual Municipal Court docket of women's cases in Chicago. It will be remembered that 10,555 women were arrested in 1921, a rough daily average of 29, most of whose cases under the present system were heard in Municipal Court. It will also be remembered from the arrest frequency table, that on a considerable number of days in the year the women arrested aggregated 40 or over. Under an ideally prompt judicial procedure, cases are heard on the day of the arrest. As a matter of fact, the number of daily Municipal Court hearings is not a constant figure. On mornings after "raids," the numbers run high, as is also the tendency on Monday mornings. On other days, the women's cases do not occupy even half a day, so that courts may adjourn before noon. On two fairly typical days in May, in the Morals Court, where most arrested women appear, the number of women's cases heard, including "old" and "new," was 50 and 41. It is safe to say that while on many days of the year two court rooms would not be needed for the entire day, on many others they would be taxed to their full capacity.

It is recommended that these court rooms be small in size, that they accommodate only those persons directly concerned in the particular case at issue, and that separate waiting rooms be provided for others expecting later hearings. The separate Municipal Courts for women, established in New York City and Philadelphia, have demonstrated the feasibility of such branches, and have pointed a way out of the above-outlined difficulties and undesirable practices which have gathered about the Morals Court of Chicago.

Channels are already available in this community for an individual case work treatment of women offenders.

### Policewomen

It is recommended that the policewomen now assigned to regular station work be withdrawn from ordinary patrol duty and assigned to a headquarters at the Central Detention Home for Women. Policewomen were first intro-

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(a) See "What Should Be Done for Chicago's Women Offenders," the Report of the Committee on Penal and Correctional Institutions, 1917, p. 8.



The Clinic assists in social diagnosis—Municipal Detention Home for Women, Philadelphia.

duced into the Chicago Police Department in 1913. The original number of ten grew to twenty-nine in 1915. At present, it is thirty. The opening of a Central Detention Home for Women would give them hitherto unafforded opportunities. They would, of course, be expected to "cover" such territory as parks, bathing beaches, places of commercialized amusement, certain railroad and elevated stations, and certain street corners and city blocks, some of which have already come within the compass of intermittent assignments. They would, however, have a larger and more dignified share in the preparation of cases for court, and in the social investigation upon which wise disposition must be based. Under a woman Detention Home Superintendent, moreover, of Captain's rank, of the qualifications hereafter outlined, that esprit de corps could be developed which is so vital in the effective administration of any social service. The policewoman's function, under unit organization, could be centered as has never before been possible, not primarily in the detection of violations of law, but in the protection and social treatment of women and children, whether offenders or "innocents."

#### Finger Printing

As an aid in investigation and case treatment, a branch of the Police Department Bureau of Identification should be established in the Women's Detention Home, and a complete finger-printing system installed. Such a recommendation in the cases of women charged with sex offenses has been before the people of this community since the report of the Vice Commission of Chicago, in 1911. The habit of using aliases and the question of recidivism could be at least partially checked by means of this method of positive identification. Such a system is successfully at work in New York City and Philadelphia.

#### Probation Officers

It is strongly recommended that there be assigned to the Women's Detention Home, from the Adult Probation Department, women probation officers numbering at least six, under the general supervision of one of their number to be designated by the Adult Chief Probation Officer. With a centralization of their work about the Woman's Court, a more adequate basis for probation work with the older girl and the young offender might be developed.

#### State and City Attorneys

Space in the Woman's Detention Home must obviously be provided for the State and City Attorneys who appear at court hearings. One or two rooms near the court on the first floor would undoubtedly suffice.

#### Psychopathic Laboratory

It is recommended that a laboratory for psychopathic and psychiatric examinations be established in the Woman's Detention Home, through the obvious channel of the State Criminologist, working in cooperation with the Psychopathic Hospital. This office maintains a flexibility of organization which makes the opening of branches comparatively simple.

#### Medical Clinic

The problem of medical care in the Detention Home has been made clear in the foregoing section on the physical condition of persons detained. Preg-



nancy, tuberculosis, heart disease, syphilis, gonorrhea, diseased tonsils and adenoids, malnutrition and many other physical factors in wrongdoing must be detected, if the causes of individual crime are to be discovered and removed. The point at which possible offenders are apprehended presents the community's opportunity to correct those ills, not by forcible examination, be it said, but through the cooperation of the individual girl in plans upon which her future welfare depends. A Detention Home for Women must therefore contain clinical facilities where diagnoses may be made. It is quite within the province of Cook County Hospital, perhaps in cooperation with the County Physician and City Health Department, to establish in the Detention Home recommended, a dispensary and attending staff of physicians and nurses. The administration of that admirable County institution warrants public confidence in a Woman's Detention Home branch.

### Educational Facilities

The Chicago Board of Education represents a source through which educational features might easily be established in a Detention House for women. By way of precedent, it may be recalled that this body has for years maintained classes of instruction at the Juvenile Detention Home and, in the past, has likewise conducted a school for the boys at the County Jail. For the illiterates among those who would be brought to the Woman's Detention Home, instruction in the elementary branches is needed. And for all who come, as much instruction as possible in typewriting, stenography, accounting and other clerical occupations, in domestic science, sewing, dressmaking, millinery, and other handicrafts, should be organized. There are several sewing machines now in the Women's Quarters of the County Jail which afford the beginning of such an equipment. Whatever house garments are needed, such as night clothes, kitchen aprons, etc., could be made in these classes. It is strongly recommended that these educational facilities be instituted through the Board of Education, as soon as the Home is opened.

It is recommended also that circulation of books from the Chicago Public Library be arranged, and, if possible, a "library hour" when the reading of good books would be stimulated.

### Recreation

Obvious channels are also available for the establishment of recreational features in a Woman's Detention Home. The Bureau of Parks, Playgrounds and Bathing Beaches of the City Department of Public Works maintains a staff of young women playground directors trained in recreational activities. The girls held in jail need exercise, games, dancing and gymnastics, indoors and out. At present, vacant lots on the east adjoin the proposed location for a Woman's Detention Home, where outdoor exercise could easily be developed. A piano now in the Woman's Quarters of the County Jail affords the opening possibility for indoor recreation. Assistance in the maintenance of recreational work might also be secured from the West Park Board of Commissioners, in whose territory that location lies.

Volunteer play leaders would undoubtedly be furnished by the Recreation Training School, if a request were presented to its Director.

It is recommended that the problem of supervised recreation in this De-



"The Lounge," a cheerful recreation room for the younger girls—Municipal Detention Home for Women, Philadelphia.

tention Home be placed in the hands of Chicago's Women's Clubs, and that a joint Woman's Recreation Advisory Committee be appointed, to function perpetually.

### Kitchen and Dining Rooms

One kitchen could undoubtedly serve the entire building occupied by women held for trial. In it, certain groups of those detained would be occupied, supervised by the cook and her assistants. Discretion should be exercised in the mingling of those girls and women at work in the kitchen. A kitchen in a Home of this size needs complete modern equipment. It should serve as a place of instruction in diet, nutrition and the preparation of foods. Elsewhere in the County Jail Study, appear the recommendations of physicians and dietitians as to what this food should be. The mistakes and even crimes of the wrongdoer may frequently be traced to lack of proper food.

Each floor of the Detention Home needs two or more dining rooms of its own, where some segregation may be preserved, and where the various classes of women and girls may assist in the service of food, may sit decently at meals, and engage in normal conversation. A print of this picture was finally impossible to secure.

### Laundry and Sterilizer

Manifestly, some facilities for the washing and sterilization of detention home clothing, bedding, etc., must be provided. Estimates for the installation of a laundry equipment sufficient for the Woman's Detention Home population approximate \$5000, and include, in the terms of a laundry manufacturer, two globe washers, an extractor, a junior tumbler, a group drier, and an ironer. The cost of a sterilizer is estimated at from \$3000 to \$5000.

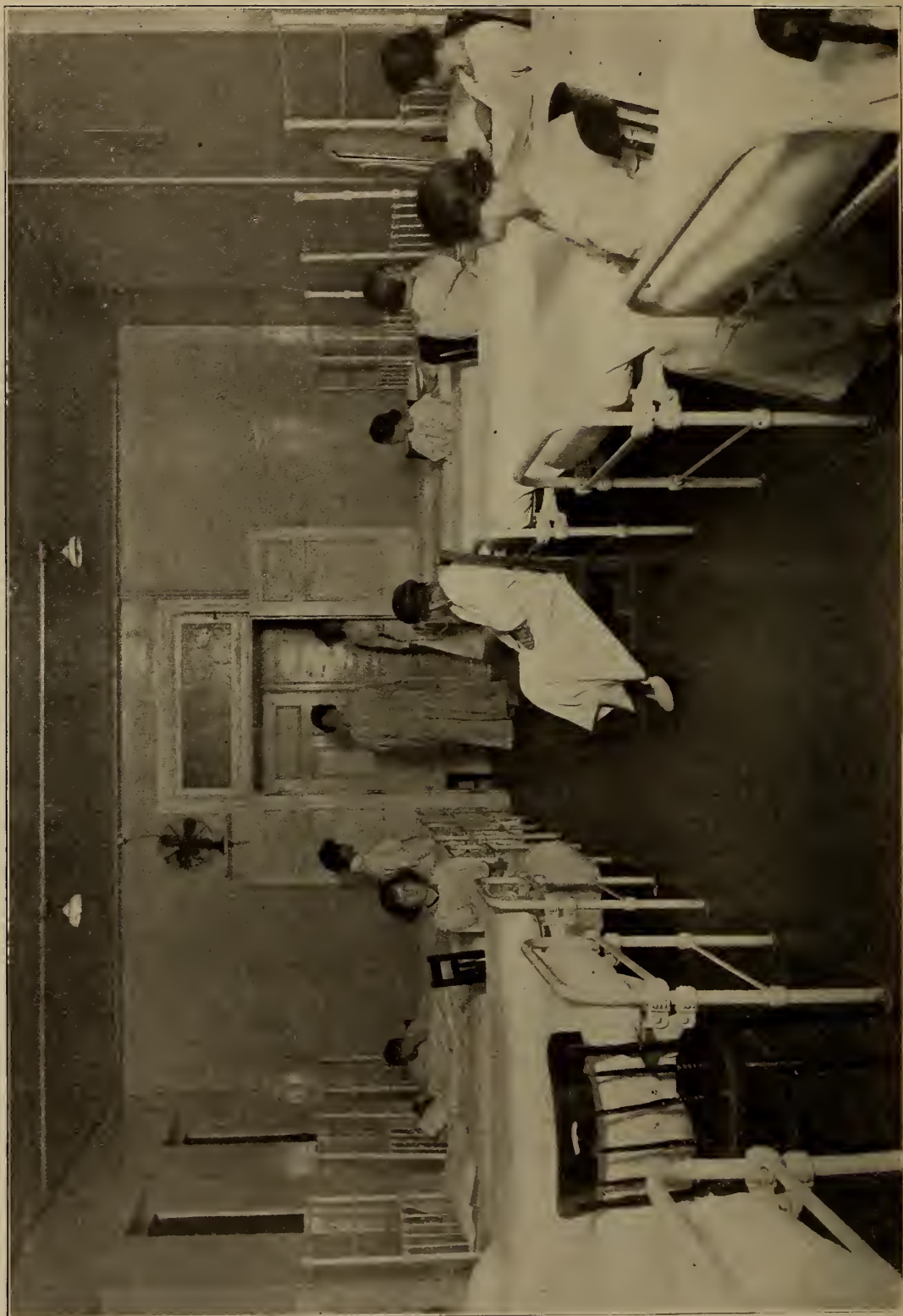
Suggestions have been made that the new laundry equipment at the Cook County Hospital and at the Children's Contagious Disease Hospital are not used to capacity limit, and that arrangements might be made either for part purchase or for contract work. These suggestions will bear investigation before complete laundry equipment is purchased for a Woman's Detention Home. In the laundry, the assistance of groups of detained girls and women should be used, and some instruction given in the proper cleaning and care of clothes. That activity affords one of the occupations which must supplant the rotting idleness of most places of detention. "Idleness," as Dr. Charles R. Henderson and others have pointed out, "is injurious to health and morals of the prisoner and burdens the public. Prisoners awaiting trial should have an opportunity of working for wages; and if convicted persons must, for a time, be kept in jail, they should be compelled to work at some useful and productive industry."<sup>(a)</sup>

### Building Available

Fortunately there is in this community a suitable public building, soon to be available for the kind of Woman's Detention Home proposed. That is the institution now occupied by children awaiting hearings in the Juvenile

(a) Report of Special Committee on Jails, Charles R. Henderson, Chicago, 1907. Printed in American Prison Association Semi-Centennial Pamphlet, 1920, p. 30.





Dormitory—Municipal Detention Home for Women, Philadelphia.

Court. It is a three-story brick building, located at 771 Gilpin Place, built in 1907, and in good repair. Its total capacity is regarded as 165. Seventy-two children are cared for on the second floor, 58 on the third, a total capacity on the two floors of 130. When the new Juvenile Detention Home, at Roosevelt Road and Ogden Avenue, is opened in the fall, the present Home will be vacated. With some interior alterations, the present quarters afford very satisfactory possibilities for the detention of older girls and women awaiting trial. The capacity is ample. The location is central and conveniently reached. More women are arrested in or near the loop than in outlying districts. The large majority are at some time transported to the downtown section for hearing in the Morals Court. There is no reason, therefore, why they should not be conveyed at once to the place where detention and court are centralized.

## 2. ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL

### Superintendent

An institution of the size and importance of a central Detention Home for Women requires a woman superintendent of refinement, maturity, judgment, resourcefulness, executive ability, and human understanding, one trained in, and thoroughly familiar with the functions and use of social agencies and with the jurisdiction and procedure of the Courts. Her ultimate responsibility would be greater than that of a district Police Captain and her rank should be at least commensurate. Under her direction, policewomen should be assigned to duty. In her hands might very well be placed the correlation of the investigational work of police women with the later supervision of women offenders by adult women probation officers. This position should be filled through a competitive civil service examination and be safeguarded by the careful application of the merit system.

### Assistant Superintendent

An Assistant Superintendent should be chosen in the same way, and hold her position on the same basis. Her qualifications should be as nearly like those of the ideal superintendent as possible. In addition, she should be a skilled housekeeper. She should be held responsible for the conduct of the institution at all times when the superintendent is off duty. Her rank should be at least commensurate with that of Police Lieutenant.

### Matrons

A staff of fifteen matrons, five on each of three eight-hour shifts, would undoubtedly prove adequate. It would be expected that three at a time, one in each wing and one in the rear, would be assigned to the second floor; and two, one in each wing, to the third floor. In addition to their housekeeping duties, in which they would supervise the work of the girls and women detained, the afternoon hours would afford opportunity for clerical work upon the records of the institution. It is of the utmost importance that among the staff members of the Detention Home, there be women, matrons, if possible, who are able to interpret the languages of foreign-speaking peoples, particularly Polish, Russian, Italian, German, former residents of Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia. These fifteen Detention Home matrons should be of at least

the rank of the chief matron at the County Jail and should be chosen by Civil Service.

Receiving Clerks

Three receiving clerks, one of each of three shifts, would be needed at the Detention Home entrance desk. The night receiving clerk could undoubtedly, in addition to other duties, operate the telephone. Their rank should be at least equal to that of the present city police matrons, and their tenure of office subject to Civil Service rules.

Other Assistants

The Detention Home staff should include, in addition to some other clerical assistants and telephone operators, a chief cook responsible for buying food, preparing menus, etc., two assistant cooks who could supervise the work of detained women and girls, nurses, a supervisor of the laundry, janitor or engineer, scrub woman and watchman. All positions should be filled and protected by Civil Service.

An estimate of the administrative costs involved in this staff follows. It is of importance to note a possible saving of thousands of dollars in salary cost to the City and County, through the substitution of a centralized system of detention for women for the present scattering, uncorrelated facilities.

SALARIES

RECOMMENDED FOR DETENTION HOME FOR WOMEN		PAID AT PRESENT DETENTION QUARTERS	
Supt. (With rank of Police Capt.)	\$ 3,500.00		
Asst. Supt. (rank of Police Lieut.)	2,700.00		
CITY-COUNTY		CITY	
15 Matrons (rank of Chief Matron		32 Matrons at \$1,404.00	\$44,928.00
Co. Jail 5 on each shift)	\$23,760.00	1 Matron	1,284.00
3 Receiving Clerks (rank of city		1 Matron	1,224.00
matron, 1 on each shift)	4,212.00		
			*\$47,436.00
		COUNTY	
		1 Head Matron Co. Jail at \$132.00	
		per month	\$ 1,584.00
		4 Matrons—Jail at \$113.00 per	
		month	5,424.00
			\$ 7,008.00
	\$34,172.00	39 Matrons	**\$54,444.00
In addition to the above there will also be required:			
Additional Clerks and Telephone Operators			
1 Cook			
2 Assistant Cooks			
1, 2 or 3 Nurses			
1 Laundry Supervisor			
2 Scrubwomen			
Janitor			
Engineer			
Fireman			
Watchman and door attendants.			
* Information from City Budget, p. 1909, Council Proceedings, February 10, 1922.			
** Information from Cook County Appropriation Bill, p 69.			

V. REASONS FOR A SEPARATE DETENTION  
HOUSE FOR WOMEN

The establishment of detention homes for women, separated from those



for men, is neither a new idea nor a new procedure. Wartime lent the most recent impetus to the movement for women's detention homes, and marked it by the opening of such institutions in more than twenty towns and cities of the United States. The precedent of two of the large cities is important in the consideration of Chicago's problem of detention.

Long before the war, in fact for the last ten years, New York City has been working toward the construction of a House of Detention for Women, "planned," in the words of Miss Maud Miner, "according to the most modern ideas, with ample room for proper classification and also housing a court for women." The plans for this new correction center in New York City have already been prepared, and an appropriation partially assured.

In 1917, Philadelphia opened a House of Detention for Girls and Women, under the jurisdiction of the Misdemeanants Division of the Municipal Court of that city. For the last five years, this home has presented a notable example of the kind of treatment needed among the girls and women who are held to await court action.

Chicago itself has had, since 1916, an official recommendation for a Central Detention House for Women, a recommendation advanced by the Committee on Penal and Correctional Institutions of the joint City-County Crime Commission. There are very convincing reasons for the opening of such an institution in Chicago:

1. It is in line with progressive methods for the treatment of women offenders already adopted in other American cities;
2. The number of men arrested is now more than ten times the number of women.<sup>(a)</sup> "The number of women is therefore numerically so unimportant that proper consideration will not be given their needs until they are separated from the men;"<sup>(b)</sup>
3. The development of household occupations for detained women, one of the most important steps in social treatment, requires a freedom of movement not possible in an institution in which men are also held;
4. "A house of Detention with provision for segregation of the different classes of women is necessary in order to prevent moral and physical contamination."<sup>(c)</sup> The immoral practices which have occurred in the jails of this, as well as other states, and the opportunities in a mixed jail population for "appointments" effective after jail release, are now matters of common knowledge;
5. Relief from the critical overcrowding at the Cook County Jail is imperative. The removal of the "County Jail women" to other quarters would release 36 cells, as well as additional interior space, for other uses.

## VI. REASONS FOR COMBINING THE WOMEN'S DETENTION FACILITIES OF CITY AND COUNTY

The advantages of one Central Detention House for Women, as against the scattered provision for their care at outlying points in the City and County, are great:

(a) Annual Report Police Dept. of Chicago, 1920, p. 6.

(b) Report Committee on Penal and Correctional Institutions, p. 6.

(c) New York Probation and Protective Association, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1921, p. 25.



A substitute for jail idleness—Municipal Detention Home for Women, Philadelphia.

1. In the words of the Committee on Penal and Correctional Institutions, above quoted, "All the women who are arrested must be brought to one central station if proper care is to be given the young girls who are first offenders and if the probation system for these girls is to be properly worked out. It is obvious, also, that social service may be more intelligently given these girls if they are brought to one station instead of being kept in different parts of the city."

2. The question of proper detention for women charged with crime in this community represents not two problems, but one. For at this point in their treatment there is a wasteful duplication of function by the City and County. Cases of women held in the County Jail and in the Police Stations are not so different, either in character or jurisdiction, that they could not be held in the same institution. In fact, the charges may be identical, the individuals may be identical, and the jurisdiction identical. There are many persons in the County Jail who are "City prisoners," still awaiting action in the Municipal Court.

3. There are unnecessary overhead expenses involved in the upkeep of more than one place of detention for women. The argument of the Committee on Penal and Correctional Institutions that "the number of women arrested is not large enough to warrant adequate provision for the proper segregation of the different grades of women offenders in three stations," is even more true if, in addition to the County Jail, the police stations at which women are held number, as they have in the past ten years, not only three, but five, and ten and even fourteen. Statistics on the foregoing pages demonstrate that one Central Detention House could easily care for all women awaiting trial in Chicago and Cook County.

4. There are existent in this community, at the present time, adequate precedents for the cooperation of City and County in their various functions. They have consolidated their administrative offices, for instance, in one City-County Building.

Almost fifteen years ago, the City and the County recognized their joint responsibility for the care of children pending Juvenile Court hearing, and undertook the establishment of a single institution for that purpose. Though the Juvenile Detention Home is generally regarded as a County institution, the City "is supposed to pay half of its maintenance." (a)

The Chicago and Cook County School for Boys near Riverside, Ill., is another joint venture of these two governing bodies. It was built by the City of Chicago and is maintained under a two-party arrangement between Cook County and the Chicago Board of Education.

The City Bridewell houses certain classes of prisoners, whose food and other expenses are defrayed by the County.

The Adult Probation Department, which functions both in the Municipal and higher courts, is supported by both City and County. The salary of the Chief Adult Probation Officer is adjusted approximately on a half-and-half basis. The salaries of fourteen adult probation officers are paid by Cook County; the salaries of sixteen on the same staff by the City of Chicago.

It is apparent, therefore, that there is a tendency toward consolidation of certain functions of the City and County, and that it is particularly marked

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(a) Statement (May 1922) of Chief Clerk in office of City Comptroller.



in the correctional field. The combination of the two bodies in the care of women pending trial is in harmony with similar progressive public measures and should be consummated in this community without delay.

In the separation, then, of detention quarters for men and women, in the combination of Cook County and Chicago in their care, in the establishment of a Woman's Branch of the Municipal Court in the Woman's Detention Home, in the building of institutions making possible more satisfactory court dispositions, and in the equipment of the Detention Home with adequate facilities—in these five steps lies the solution for the confusing problem of the care of women pending trial in this community and an immediate program for the Women's Clubs who have manifested so keen an interest in the treatment of women offenders.

June, 1922

ADENA MILLER RICH

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# Report on Relief of Overcrowding in The County Jail

By  
JOHN L. WHITMAN

TO THE CHICAGO COMMUNITY TRUST:

Having become associated in an advisory capacity with Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Director of the Cook County Jail Survey, and having been requested by him to study the problem of relieving the overcrowded condition that now prevails in the jail, I respectfully submit the following statement:

My acquaintance with the county jail and its problem goes back twenty-two years to the time when, in 1890, I was appointed to a subordinate position in the institution. My term of service, first as guard and subsequently as chief clerk, lasted until 1895, when I became Jailer, a position which I held for twelve years more. My experience, therefore, covered the previous period of overcrowding, similar to that from which the jail is now suffering, the relief of that situation by the erection of the addition, now known as the "new jail," in 1894, and the gradual filling up of the latter to its full capacity. My subsequent experience as Superintendent of the House of Correction for ten years (from 1907 to 1917) kept me in touch with the new conditions of overcrowding which, by the end of that period, had already become a matter of very serious concern. These conditions have now reached a point where, by common consent, some immediate measures of relief must again be taken.

As I understand the situation, the present Jail Survey was undertaken with the view of working out a plan for a new jail with adequate room for all who may be committed to it for some years to come. This is of the utmost importance, as the construction of the present jail is such that, even if it had no more inmates than it was intended to hold, it is quite unsuitable to furnish healthful or even decent living conditions or to permit the needed classification and segregation of the inmates which make up its population.

But it seems to me that we are not justified in holding the present population under present conditions in the jail while waiting for the new jail to be authorized, built and equipped to receive inmates. Such a project always takes time, several years at least, and in the meantime the present conditions of shameful and dangerous overcrowding would continue. No one who has not lived in close contact with the inmates of a jail and become familiar with the lowered moral tone and impaired vitality which result from jail life can appreciate the dangers which lurk in this indiscriminate herding of men together; not only the dangers of physical infection and of moral contamination but the danger that the nervous tension and irritability spreading through the mass will break out in riot or some other form of action. This is undoubtedly the main cause of the outbreak which occurred in the jail a few weeks ago. Such a situation should not be allowed to continue. For this reason I would strongly recommend that immediate steps be taken to reduce the population in the present jail by transferring a considerable number of its inmates to another secure place of detention.

This raises two questions which I have attempted to answer: First, what

part of the jail population can and should be removed? And, second, what temporary place of detention can be found for them?

I have no hesitation in saying that the boys and, perhaps, other young first offenders should be taken out of the jail and put elsewhere. I should favor this even if it were not necessary to relieve the congestion in the present jail. A jail is no place for most of these young people. There are many tough characters in the jail, professional or, at least, habitual criminals and others who are hardened in vice if not in crime. The boys and young people to whom I have referred are not of this kind. They don't belong with them and should not be in the same institution with them.

Most people would be surprised to know how many boys of this description there are in the jail, probably as much as one-third of the total population. From this number a couple of hundred could easily be picked (leaving the wilder and more reckless behind) who could safely be confined under less severe and restricted conditions in another place.

As to the place, it seems to me that the old John Worthy School building, situated on the Workhouse grounds and within the Workhouse wall, which has for some years been out of use, is well adapted to the purpose of a temporary detention place for the class of inmates above described. It was formerly used as a reformatory for some 400 juvenile delinquents, who were housed in a cell-block within the building prior to the opening of the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys near Riverside. This cell-block has been removed and the space formerly occupied by it is suitable for dormitories accomodating about 200. There is also abundant room in the building for a kitchen, mess-hall, hospital, school-room, exercise room and other facilities. The structure has been allowed to fall out of repair but could be put into condition for use at a comparatively small expense. It has the further advantage of having an exercise yard or playground lying between the west side of the building and the Workhouse wall. The location of the School at South California Boulevard and Twenty-sixth Street, with several carlines affording access to it and with modern methods of transportation, presents no serious problem to those desiring to visit the inmates or of transferring the prisoners when wanted in the Criminal Court Building.

From my knowledge of prisoners of the class whom it is thus proposed to transfer to the John Worthy School, I am satisfied that the plan involves no danger of disturbance or of escape; though, it is obvious that in a place of this kind, a different type of administration will be required from that which prevails in a place of rigid, cellular confinement like the jail proper. The greater freedom that the inmates of the John Worthy School will, of necessity, enjoy will, I am convinced, involve no danger of insubordination or other misconduct if the officer chosen to superintend the institution is of a type capable of adapting himself to the new conditions of detention. There are a number of capable officers of this kind in the jail at present who could be depended on to make a good job of it. Strict supervision will, of course, be required and this will be strongly reinforced by the ever-present fear of being returned for misconduct to the hated cells of the jail. On the other hand, the place is reasonably well adapted to afford a more constructive and healthful treatment of the younger type of offender, with provision for education, medical care and outdoor recreation and, most important of all, the development of a morale which



will go far to neutralize the demoralizing effects of confinement on a criminal charge.

In pursuance of the plan above outlined, I made several visits to the John Worthy School and secured the expert services of Mr. Ralph Zimmerman, of the well-known firm of Saxe & Zimmerman, architects of the new prison at Joliet, and of Mr. Collison, estimator of the George A. Fuller Company, to study the needs of the building in the way of repairs and alterations required to adapt it to the proposed use and to make estimates of the cost.

The attached floor-plan, which provides for one large and eight small dormitories and 39 individual rooms, shows an initial provision of 188 beds. This can be increased to 235 by setting the beds in the dormitories a little closer together or, to a still larger number, by utilizing additional space for sleeping quarters, if that should be deemed necessary.

There is also attached an itemized statement prepared by Mr. Collison of the repairs and new construction deemed necessary or desirable, with the estimated cost of each item.

No attempt has been made to estimate accurately the cost of the furnishings and equipment of the kitchen, mess-hall, hospital, school-room, dormitories, etc., as this will depend on several factors not yet determined, such as the number of inmates that may be confined in the School and the probable period of the use of the building for this purpose. Roughly estimated, it may be said that, assuming a population of 200 to 250, the cost of such equipment will fall between a minimum of \$5000, and a maximum of \$10,000. It should be noted, however, that this expenditure will fall into the category of a permanent investment, as the equipment provided for the John Worthy School will, for the most part, be equally available for use in the quarters to be provided for this class of prisoners in connection with the new jail.

The plan here proposed will also involve some additional overhead expenses. The School will be, in effect, an annex to the jail and will be under the jurisdiction of the Jailer, but it will be necessary to place a deputy in charge with such clerical staff and other assistants as may be required.

In conclusion permit me to say that the plan above set forth is recommended only as a temporary device for effecting an immediate reduction of the jail population, pending the construction and opening of the new jail. It does not pretend to solve either the jail problem as a whole nor the problem of the custody of the boys and other young first offenders who are detained on charges of crime. With all its advantages over the present jail, the John Worthy School is only a poor, temporary substitute for the detention quarters that should be provided and the project of a new jail should be pushed with energy until it becomes an accomplished fact.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN L. WHITMAN,

State Superintendent of Prisons.

June 26, 1922,

## Jail Records and Reports

### 1. THE PRESENT SYSTEM

#### (a) Records

**Jail Register.** All prisoners enter the jail through the receiving wing in the "old jail." (1) Here the deputy sheriff or the police officer turns over to a clerk, the prisoner and his commitment papers. These papers are taken at frequent intervals during the day to the Record Office in the "new jail" where they are listed on a daily sheet which becomes the record of the day's "intake." From this daily sheet the items are posted into the big Jail Register; the commitment papers being then filed in the vault by date. (2)

The Jail Register is a large solidly-bound, alphabetically-indexed record book, made large enough to last six months; a transcript being made into a new book on June and December first of each year. Fourteen prisoners are listed to a page; the name at the left and the following items opposite the name on the right: Cell No., record (meaning "case continued," "fully committed," or indicted), bail, by whom committed, charge, received, discharged, how discharged, remarks, etc. The Jail Register is in almost constant use during the day. It is consulted in answering the many inquiries of judges, attorneys, court clerks, police officers, bondsmen, etc. It is consulted and corrected whenever the legal status of a prisoner changes during his detention, and it is always referred to in discharging a prisoner.

**Auxiliary Registers.** All prisoners permanently discharged from jail are listed on a daily sheet which becomes the daily record of outgoing prisoners. The items on this sheet are then posted into the Jail Register. Prisoners who are returned to the courts for trial are listed in a small, carbon-manifold book. In a similar way, each sentenced prisoner who leaves the jail for the House of Correction, the Reformatory or the Penitentiary is listed in a book which constitutes a record of periodical transfers.

**History Cards.** Each new prisoner while in the receiving wing is interviewed by a clerk of the jail who fills out for him an individual history card. Until recently, and for many years, this history card was a 6 in. by 4 in. affair,

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(1) Female prisoners are received directly into the Women's Department in the new jail. Debtors also are received separately.

(2) This same kind of Register has been used for the last fifteen or twenty years.

recording the following items of social history: Address, age, color, nationality, religion, occupation, married, children, parents living, how long in United States, education, and the number of times arrested. The following medical items also appear on the card: Scabies, tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhoea; use of tobacco, liquor, drugs, condition of heart, lungs, general physical condition; scars, marks, bruises, remarks, etc. The reverse side of the card contains the prisoner's signed statement authorizing the jailer to receive and examine his mail. Recently the card has been enlarged to include a few more items dealing with the legal history of the prisoner's present detention, and a report of discipline and transfer while in jail. These cards are now filed alphabetically in a "live" file until the prisoner is discharged.<sup>(1)</sup>

### (b) Reports

The Daily Report Book is apparently designed (a) to facilitate the daily count of prisoners and (b) to present a statistical summary of the jail population by days and months. This record, however, has not been kept up to date.

The Monthly Report is prepared and submitted in typewritten form on the first of each month to the Criminal Court. It first summarizes the jail population on that date as follows:

- Number of prisoners awaiting trial on indictment.
- Number of prisoners awaiting action of Grand Jury.
- Number of prisoners awaiting action of Municipal Court.
- Number of prisoners awaiting action of Federal authorities.
- Number of prisoners at Oak Forest.
- Number of prisoners serving jail sentences.
- Number of prisoners sentenced to penitentiary.
- Number of prisoners sentenced to reformatory.
- Number of prisoners sentenced to house of correction.
- Number of debtors.

Under the appropriate heading as above each prisoner's name, date of entry in jail, charge, indictment number (if indicted) are then tabulated separately.

The Yearly Reports, typewritten, contain (a) daily average number of prisoners in jail, by months; (b) number of prisoners treated by physicians; (c) deaths by causes; (d) social and criminal record including number of arrests, family status, diseases, habits, color, nationality, charges, religion, occupation, etc. Many of these latter items are classified by sex and age.

## II. CRITICISM

The tests of efficient jail records would seem to be, first, the comparative ease with which a jail officer, or any one else whose business it is to inquire, can secure a prompt, accurate and complete statement of the legal status and the detention record of a given prisoner now in the jail or any person who has ever been detained in the jail; and second, the comparative ease with which the jail administration or any one less legitimately concerned, can readily obtain

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(1) Up to May, 1922, history cards are filed by date.



from such records an accurate and complete statistical picture of the jail population of a given day, as well as at less frequent intervals.

Judged by these tests the records and, therefore, the reports of the Cook County Jail are very inefficient. The main defects of the present records are, first, the difficulty and the time involved in securing and assembling the accessible information regarding a given prisoner, and second, the inadequacy of the information so obtained. To illustrate. In looking up prisoner John Smith now in jail in order, for example to determine the amount of his bail, a clerk may have to thumb through about a score or more of pages under the "S's" in the Jail Register, in order to locate the entry, unless he happens to know the date upon which the prisoner entered the jail. This, of course, is due to the fact that the prisoners are not discharged in the same order in which they are committed to jail. Suppose further that Smith's age, address, or nationality is desired, another such search must be made in another place. Suppose again that the jailer wants to know if the prisoner has ever been placed in "solitary," the search will be still harder and less satisfactorily rewarded. If Smith spent a few days or even weeks in the jail hospital, the meager entry in the hospital "log" describing medical treatment could not be found unless the date be first discovered.

On the point of inadequacy, the chief defects of the records are with reference to (a) the prisoner's social and economic status, (b) his previous criminal record, and (c) his medical and disciplinary treatment while in jail. For example, nothing is known about a prisoner's citizenship, his birthplace, time in United States, or in Cook County, his employers, etc. Again, all that is known of prisoner's previous criminal record, is the number of times that the prisoner himself says he has been previously arrested.<sup>(1)</sup> Nothing is known of his aliases, the dates of his previous arrests, the charges, the sentences served, and the institutions committed to. Again, not until recently was even a record kept of the "confinement and cause." The same general defects also characterize the so-called medical "log."<sup>(2)</sup>

### III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The concrete recommendations submitted herewith are designed to secure (a) more information about the prisoner before and during his detention in jail, and (b) to render all such important information easily accessible in one central place.

The chief proposal is to dispense with the Jail Register in its present form and to substitute for it a visible index-record, a system well-known and successfully applied in most modern banks and mercantile institutions. Applied to the needs of the jail, the Jail Register would consist of a portable, steel cabinet with a capacity for about one thousand record-cards, 11 in. by 8 in. Such a cabinet would contain about a dozen steel trays containing in each tray about one hundred record-cards placed flat and overlapping, thus exposing a half inch or so of each record devoted to the prisoner's name and other important data. Cards are inserted in a linen-celluloid pocket and can be

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(1) It is partly upon this unverified statement of the prisoner himself that he is classified and "celled" in jail.

(2) This problem is dealt with more fully under the section on medical treatment.

moved in the tray to permit of the insertion of another card at the correct alphabetical point. The pocket is so arranged that the entire surface of any card can be exposed instantly and written entries made thereon with ease and without removing the card from its pocket. The entire cabinet would be devoted to "live" cases only; the record-card being removed to a "dead," vertical file, immediately the prisoner is discharged.

By utilizing both sides of the record-card, it will be possible to provide in one place the complete record of the prisoner—his legal, medical and disciplinary history while in detention, as well as the principal social facts and his criminal record. Appendix A contains the proposal for the front of the card and contains space for all items which might change during the prisoner's detention. Appendix B embodies the suggestions for the reverse side of the record-card and contains items which will not change and which will be referred to less frequently.

By means of this system it is possible to provide an automatic, statistical summary of the jail population all the time. The arrangement proposed for the lower-right hand corner of the record-card is aimed to visualize the status of each prisoner with respect to the two legal variables which characterize the status of each prisoner in jail, viz., the charge and the legal status. The twenty-offenses for which prisoners have most frequently been committed during the past two years have been statistically determined and given their respective rankings, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. By means of a small, transparently-colored, celluloid signal placed over the given number and offense, one could see at a glance the legal status of every prisoner without even referring to the face of the card. For example, a green signal might symbolize continued cases; yellow, fully committed cases; red, indictments; purple, for safe-keeping, and blue for jail sentences. Thus by placing a green signal over "2" it would indicate "case continued, disorderly conduct;" a red signal over "14" would mean "indictment, crime vs. children," and so on. To indicate the fact of sex in such a scheme, white cards might be used for males and a colored card for females.

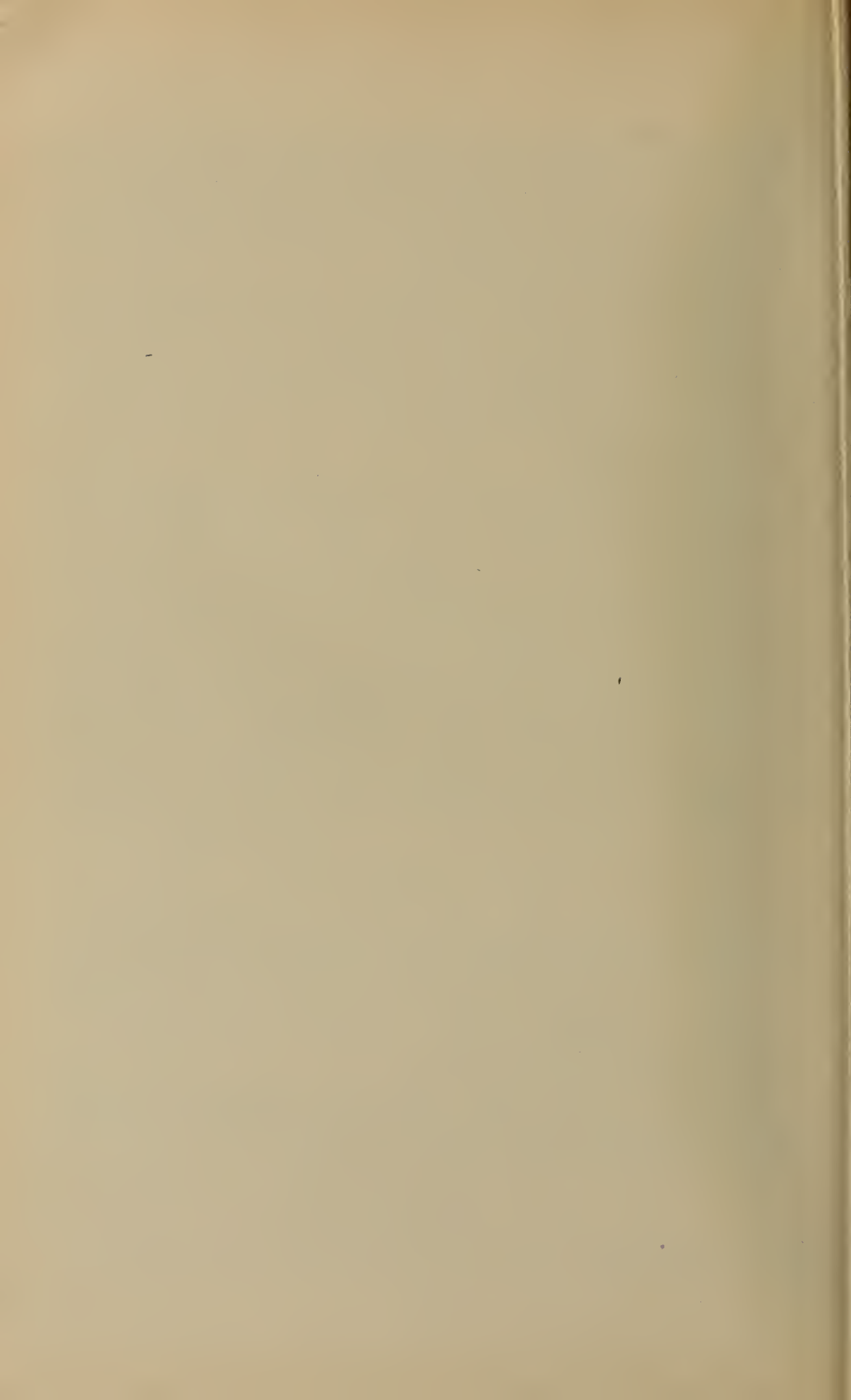
The traditional objection to any loose-leaf or loose-card might be made to this as to any other such system. However, the rapidly increasing use of loose-card devices would seem to negative somewhat such an objection. In order, however, to provide against the possible loss of a record-card, it is also proposed to furnish two day-books; one as in Appendix C, in which a daily record is kept of all incoming and outgoing prisoners, and at the same time, it will be noted, automatically to determine and record the daily population; the other as in Appendix D, would constitute a daily record of the changes in the legal status of prisoners in detention. From these two day-books items would then be posted to the record-index.

By the adoption of such a system of simple, but centrally-assembled visible records as is here proposed, adequate reports could be secured at any desired frequency and with considered elaborateness as to detail, with the same and possible less clerical effort than is employed at present.

ADENA MILLER RICH

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

Chicago, June 30, 1922.





Recent Statistics

Relating To Crime In Chicago

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By

EDITH ABBOTT

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Statistician, City Council Committee on Crime, 1915

## RECENT STATISTICS RELATING TO CRIME IN CHICAGO

Statistics are now available that make possible a fairly complete summary of the facts relating to crime in Chicago, during the past five years.<sup>(1)</sup> Such a summary has not been published since the Merriam Crime Committee issued its report in the Spring of 1915<sup>(2)</sup>, and recent statistics are needed as a basis for discussing the methods of dealing with criminals in this community.

Unfortunately, there is neither in the city of Chicago, nor in the state of Illinois, a central bureau of criminal statistics through which statistics from the police department, the courts, the probation department, the jail, the House of Correction, and the state prisons, are collected and correlated. It is true that a state bureau of criminal statistics does exist on our statute books; for by a law approved June 11, 1912, the State Charities Commission was directed to establish such a bureau with the secretary of the commission as director in charge. The proposed bureau was charged with the duty of collecting and publishing annually, the statistics of Illinois relating to crime; and all courts of Illinois, police magistrates, justices of the peace, clerks of all courts of record, sheriffs, keepers of all places of detention for crime or misdemeanors or violations of the criminal statutes, are to "furnish said bureau annually, such information on request as it may require for compiling such statistics." Up to the present time, however, the commission has published only a preliminary report on this subject. (Illinois Institution Quarterly, VIII, No. 2, p. 77. June, 1917.)

As to Chicago, there has never been any attempt made at an annual "stock-taking" in which the statistics furnished by the various departments and agencies dealing with the problem of crime might be brought together for examination. Such statistics are published for most of the city departments dealing with crime and could be obtained by an official bureau for the departments or institutions that do not publish reports, such as the county jail and the criminal court.

## DEFINITIONS OF "CRIME" AND "CRIMINALS"

Before discussing statistics relating to crime it is necessary to explain that the terms "crime" and "criminal" are loosely used. In a legal sense, all persons who are arrested are suspected criminals; and, if they are later convicted they are "criminals." That is, they are persons who are found to have violated a

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1. The chief sources of criminal statistics in Chicago are the following series of published reports:

a. Annual reports of the Police Department, City of Chicago. (Last published report is for the year ending December 31, 1920.)

b. Annual reports of the Municipal Court of Chicago. (Last published report, for the year ending November 30, 1920.)

c. Annual reports of the Adult Probation Office, Cook County. (Last published report for the year ending September, 1920.)

d. Annual reports of the Superintendent of the House of Correction, City of Chicago. (Last published report, for the year ending December 31, 1920.)

2. City Council Committee on Crime, of the City of Chicago, March 22, 1915. Professor Charles E. Merriam was chairman of this Committee and it is usually referred to as the "Merriam" Committee.

public law. But many of these laws deal with very trivial offenses, and it is important, therefore, to understand that the vast majority of arrests are arrests of petty offenders and that the vast majority of cases in the criminal branches of the municipal courts are the cases of persons who have only committed misdemeanors or violated city ordinances. That is, the great majority of arrests are not for "crimes" at all, in the cases that most people understand the word "crime"; they are not arrests of persons suspected of murder or burglary or robbery; on the contrary, most of the persons taken into custody are merely charged with disorderly conduct, a term which covers a multitude of minor offenses. To call all the persons brought into these courts "criminals" is to use the word only in a legal or technical sense.

In the public mind only the man who has committed a felony is a "criminal". The person who has parked his automobile in the wrong place or refused to "move on" when ordered to do so by the police is an offender against the law, but he is not a "criminal" in the eyes of the community. The proportions of the real crime problem then are relatively small. The police, the courts, and all the other forms of criminal machinery that go with the enforcing the sanctions of the law are largely for the punishment of small offenses.

The following table shows the relatively small number of arrests for felonies in comparison with the total number of arrests.

TABLE I			
TOTAL NUMBER OF ARRESTS, NUMBER OF ARRESTS FOR FELONIES AND PER CENT OF ALL ARRESTS: CHICAGO, 1910-1921			
Year	All Arrests	Arrests for Felonies	
		Number	Per cent of all Arrests
1910	81,269	9,376	11.5
1911	84,840	9,881	11.6
1912	86,950	10,276	11.8
1913	109,764	11,203	10.2
1914	116,895	15,101	12.9
1915	121,714	15,286	12.6
1916	111,587	12,314	11.0
1917	137,910	14,044	10.2
1918	110,819	12,080	10.9
1919	96,676	14,171	14.7
1920	94,453	15,273	16.2
1921	125,843	16,912	13.4

Two significant facts appear in this table; (1) that the number of felonies or serious crimes is a very small percentage of the whole number of arrests; (2) that this percentage of serious crimes has been higher during the past three



years. Thus from 1910 through 1918 the percentage of arrests on felony charges varied from 10.2 to 12.9 of all arrests. In 1919 this percentage rose to 14.7 and in 1920 to 16.2 of all arrests.

STATISTICS RELATING TO THE EXTENT OF CRIME IN THE COMMUNITY

The volume of crime in any community is a subject about which reliable information should be available. It is important, for example, that we should know whether crime is increasing or decreasing and whether there is, relatively, more crime in this than in other communities of the same size and character. But many crimes are concealed and remain undetected so that an exact quantitative measure of the volume of crime can never be obtained. Statistics which might, however, serve as the basis for comparisons from year to year and from community to community, should be available. These statistics may be based on (1) criminal complaints made to the police; (2) arrests on felony charges; (3) convictions on felony charges in the criminal courts; (4) commitments to the county jail and to the House of Correction.

HAS CRIME INCREASED IN CHICAGO?

Statistics of criminal complaints for the period 1915-1921 are presented in the following table, which shows the total number of criminal complaints and the number in proportion to the population.

TABLE II

TOTAL NUMBER OF CRIMINAL COMPLAINTS AND THE  
NUMBER PER 10,000 POPULATION,  
. 1915 - 1921

Year	Total Number of Criminal Complaints	Number per 10,000 Population
1915	25,497	103.5
1916	20,133	79.9
1917	16,495	64.2
1918	11,041	42.9
1919	16,656	62.3
1920	14,097	52.1
1921	11,666	41.9

Statistics of criminal complaints for the specific offenses burglary, robbery, and larceny are given in the table that follows:

TABLE III  
CRIMINAL COMPLAINTS

Year	Burglary	Robbery	Larceny
1915	9,788	2,304	9,751
1916	7,174	1,747	8,846
1917	5,623	1,984	7,234
1918	3,643	1,405	5,210
1919	5,884	2,649	6,795
1920	5,460	2,620	5,251
1921	4,785	2,594	3,700

Unfortunately these statistics of criminal complaints cannot be accepted as a measure of the tendency of crime to increase or decrease since there are apparently frequent and sometimes erratic changes in the method of recording complaints. This subject was discussed in 1915 in the report of the Merriam Crime Committee, in which statistics were given for a period of nine years. It was pointed out in that report that, since in some years the arrests on felony charges actually exceed the number of criminal complaints, the complaint statistics must be unreliable. (1) It will be noted that in 1920 and 1921, for example, the number of arrests on felony charges exceeds the number of criminal complaints. It is also significant that there was a very marked decline in the number of criminal complaints in 1920 and again in 1921, although the number of arrests on felony charges increased in each of these years.

Recently some further light has been thrown on this subject by the reports of the present so-called "Crime Commission," an association supported by private funds. The Director of this organization in studying the criminal complaints received from police headquarters, (2) came to the conclusion that in a residence territory divided into two precincts commanded by two different police captains, there should be approximately the same number of criminal complaints from each if the same class of population was to be found in each precinct. When one district returned many complaints and the corresponding district very few, it seemed to be clear that there was "laxness or corruption on the part of the commanding officer in the district, or failure to report." A careful study of the question of whether or not some of the captains were not reporting complaints brought out the fact "that the captains were not reporting the complaints made to them to the Bureau of Records of the Police Department. In one instance, for a period of a month a certain captain reported but thirty-seven criminal complaints for his district. Investigation by the commission developed that there had been 141 complaints made to him and he had failed to report 104 of them. In the other instance 40 burglaries and robberies were known to have been committed, which were not reported.

A detailed report of these was sent to the general superintendent of police

(1) See report of the City Council Committee on Crime of the City of Chicago, (1915), Statistician's report, p. 80. For some time after the committee's investigations, lists of criminal complaints from the so-called "squeal book" were published in the Council Proceedings, but this policy has since been discontinued. Investigations in 1915 indicated that apparently two sets of criminal complaints existed: (1) The complaints which were turned in and which constituted what was referred to as the "squeal book"; and (2) complaints which were not turned in from the precincts at all.

(2) From "The Chicago Crime Commission," a paper read before the Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, September 17, 1920.

and after verification by the department inspector, who found that they had been reported to the local precinct station by victims but had not been reported to the Bureau of Records, the captain in question was requested to explain his action. He replied in detail, Each excuse for failure to report is practically the same and one will suffice as an example.

‘Charles Hague, 6501 Yale Avenue, reported that he was held up and robbed of \$9.45 in front of 340 West 66th Street, by three boys who strong-armed him. Mr. Hague could not give any description of his assailants and on that account no criminal complaint was forwarded.’

The captain was transferred from the district but strong political influence has been invoked to keep him in the department.”

ARRESTS

Statistics of arrests should also throw some light upon the question of the increase or decrease of crime. Here again, however, the statistics are in large measure vitiated by the fact that they are influenced by other factors than the actual number of offenses committed. That is, an increase in arrests may be due to increased efficiency or, at any rate, to increased activity on the part of the police and not to an increase in crime; and a decrease in arrests may be due to an increased laxity or diminished activity or to the fact that the police are suspending the excessive use of the “drag-net” system and are no longer making wholesale arrests without adequate evidence of guilt. That is, statistics of arrests may serve to show more about the changes in police activity than about the actual changes in the number of crimes committed in the community.

The following table shows the number of arrests for the period of 1910-1921. Statistics covering a decade are presented because the changes over this period do not indicate a single well-defined tendency but a series of erratic movements upward and then down and then up again.

TABLE IV  
ARRESTS (CHARGES), FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS; NUMBER  
AND NUMBER PER 10,000 POPULATION: CHICAGO, 1910-21  
(From Annual Reports of the Police Department)

Year	Number	Felonies		Misdemeanors		Total
		No. per 10,000 Popula- tion	Number	No. per 10,000 Popula- tion	Number	No. per 10,000 Popula- tion
1910	9,376	42.9	71,893	329.0	81,269	371.9
1911	9,881	43.9	74,959	333.2	84,840	377.1
1912	10,276	44.6	76,674	333.1	86,950	377.7
1913	11,203	47.6	98,561	418.6	109,764	466.2
1914	15,101	62.6	101,794	422.2	116,895	484.8
1915	15,286	62.1	106,428	431.8	121,714	493.9
1916	12,314	48.9	99,273	394.3	111,587	443.2
1917	14,044	54.6	123,866	481.9	137,910	536.5
1918	12,080	46.0	98,739	376.5	110,819	422.5
1919	14,171	52.9	82,505	308.4	96,676	361.3
1920	15,273	56.5	79,180	293.1	94,453	349.6
1921	16,912	60.8	108,931	391.8	128,943	452.6



The significant facts here are (1) an increase in arrests for felonies since 1918 and (2), until the year 1921, a decrease in arrests for misdemeanors. There were more arrests for felonies in 1921 than in any other year in the decade, but not quite so many in proportion to the population as in the years 1914 and 1915.

The marked decline in the number of misdemeanors in 1918, 1919 and 1920, is interesting and significant. Undoubtedly, the war, which on the one hand withdrew large numbers of men from civil life and on the other hand was responsible for the employment at high wages of those who remained out of the army, explains in large part the decline both in felony and misdemeanor charges in 1918. In 1919, however, when felony charges increased, the number of misdemeanor charges showed a further and marked decline, which, with the continuing decline in 1920, should probably be attributed to the effects of prohibition. The increase during the past year (1921) in both felony and misdemeanor charges is more difficult to explain.

#### INDICTMENTS

The number of indictments should also be examined, although here again an increase in numbers may be due to increased activity on the part of the prosecuting officials and a decrease may similarly be caused by the diminished zeal of such officials.

TABLE V

NUMBER OF CASES HELD TO THE GRAND JURY, NUMBER AND PER CENT IN WHICH NO BILLS WERE RETURNED BY THE GRAND JURY, 1914-1921

(From Annual Reports of the Chicago Police Department)

Year	Held to The Grand Jury	Number of "No Bills" Returned by Grand Jury	Per Cent of "No Bills"
1914	3,582	996	27.8
1915	3,569	845	23.7
1916	3,210	1,077	33.6
1917	3,794	925	24.4
1918	3,179	657	20.7
1919	4,546	932	20.5
1920	4,962	503	10.1
1921	5,704	579	10.2

#### CONVICTIONS ON FELONY CHARGES

The statistics given show only the numbers of persons charged with offenses, the number arrested or tried. More satisfactory for obvious reasons are statistics showing the number of convictions. The following table shows the number of convictions upon felony and misdemeanor charges and the number per 10,000 population, 1915-1921.

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF CONVICTIONS UPON FELONY AND MISDEMEANOR CHARGES AND  
THE NUMBER PER 10,000 POPULATION: 1915-1921

Year	<i>Convictions: FELONIES</i>		<i>Convictions: MISDEMEANORS</i>	
	Number	Number per 10,000 Population	Number	Number per 10,000 Population
1915	4,739	19.2	42,248	171.4
1916	3,325	13.2	33,441	132.8
1917	4,905	19.1	41,765	162.5
1918	4,341	16.6	30,844	117.6
1919	4,066	15.2	28,395	106.1
1920	4,282	15.8	24,228	89.7
1921	4,224	15.2	36,043	129.9

The statistics presented in this table indicate that, so far as convictions on felony charges are concerned, there has been a marked downward tendency since 1917. There was, it is true, a slight increase in 1920, but it was an increase of less than one in 10,000 population, and even then the number was very clearly lower than in 1917. There was an increase in misdemeanor convictions last year (1921), but, in spite of the increase, the number convicted per 10,000 population was greatly below the number convicted in the years 1915, 1916 and 1917.

This table should be compared with the number of arrests per 10,000 population (Table IV. ). In 1918 there was a decline in felony arrests and a corresponding decline in convictions. But in 1919, when there was a marked increase in arrests, there was a decline in convictions; again in 1921, although there was an increase in the number of arrests on felony charges from 56.5 to 60.8 per 10,000 population, there was a decline in the number of convictions on such charges from 15.8 to 15.2 per 10,000 population. In general, of course, statistics of convictions should follow the general trend of arrests or police charges. An increase in charges and a decrease in convictions seems to indicate either(1) that charges are being unwarrantably made without being based on proper evidence of guilt, or (2) that the charges are not being properly prosecuted.

#### THE WASTE OF NEEDLESS ARRESTS

Are the police making arrests unnecessarily? Are residents of Chicago being subjected, without basis for such charges, to the humiliation, disgrace and expense connected with an arrest; not only in this, but in many cases, there is the further disgrace and demoralization of detention in the police station and county jail, as well. There is a tremendous social and economic waste if large numbers of persons are arrested on charges too flimsy to warrant prose-

cution and conviction. Statistics making possible a comparison between the number of cases discharged and convicted should throw light on this point.

The following table shows the total number of cases disposed of and the number of cases discharged, nolle, etc., together with the number of convictions and the per cent of convictions for the period 1910-1921:

TABLE VII

CASES DISPOSED OF IN THE MUNICIPAL AND CRIMINAL COURTS,  
1910-1921, WITH NUMBERS DISCHARGED AND CONVICTED

(Compiled from Annual Reports of the Chicago Police Department)

Year	Total Number of Cases Disposed of. (1)	Discharged, Nolle, Etc. (2)	Convicted (3)	
			Number	Per Cent of Total.
1910	77,077	44,286	32,791	42.6
1911	80,882	49,034	31,848	39.4
1912	82,465	51,978	30,487	36.9
1913	107,197	58,532	48,665	52.7
1914	115,466	64,836	50,630	43.8
1915	166,575	71,079	95,496	57.3
1916	109,661	72,895	36,766	33.5
1917	134,830	88,160	46,670	34.6
1918	107,774	72,589	35,185	32.6
1919	93,987	61,526	32,461	34.5
1920	90,476	61,966	28,510	31.5
1921	117,912	77,645	40,267	34.1

(1) Omitted from the total number of charges are those turned over to the United States authorities; otherwise disposed of: pending and held to Juvenile Court.

(2) Discharged, nolle, etc., includes bonds forfeited; no bills by Grand Jury; discharged; nolle.

(3) Convicted includes all those sentenced to hang; sentenced to Joliet and Chester; sentenced to Pontiac; sentenced to the county jail; sentenced to the House of Correction; sentenced to other corrective institutions; fined; placed on probation; released on peace bonds; ordered to make weekly payments.

This table shows that only 34 out of every hundred charges disposed of in 1921 resulted in convictions and only 32 out of 100 in 1920 resulted in convictions. The per cent of convictions was small before 1915, but it has fallen very much lower since that time; starting from 57 convictions out of the hundred charges in 1915, the number fell to 33.5 in the next year, to 32.6 in 1918, and later fell to the very low figure of 31.5 in 1920. In 1914, commenting on the fact that the majority of the thousands of persons who are brought into our courts are discharged without conviction, the Merriam Crime Committee said:

"The hardships and waste of this system are obvious. Following the assumption that those discharged are innocent, then in 1913, 57 per cent of all the 121,333 persons who were brought into the Municipal Court for felonies, for misdemeanors, or for violations of ordinances, were innocent and should not have been brought into court at all; that is, more than 60,000 persons were brought into court needlessly. Nearly



all of these persons had been arrested, many thousand of them had spent hours at least in the police stations, many hundreds had spent weeks or months in the county jail. They had all had the humiliation and expense of being arrested and tried, and the taxpayers had borne the cost of the police who arrested them, of the police stations or jails that had detained them, of the courts and Judges and other court officials who had been part of the machinery that tried them. There is more than this to be considered. Unjustified arrests and imprisonment create a disrespect for the law that in turn breeds lawlessness. (1)

The following list of arrests, nearly all of which resulted in discharges, has been compiled from the last report of the Municipal Court of Chicago (1920). Most of these arrests were made under Ordinance 2012 that deals with "Disorderly Conduct," but it is important to know the precise offenses covered by the disorderly conduct charge. The following series of cases illustrates the "crimes" committed by our numerous petty offenders:

"2012, picked up 4:00 P. M., discharged army three weeks ago;" "just came from Bridewell, discharged"; "Sitting in vacant flat, discharged"; "2012 no home, discharged"; "On the street 11:30 P. M., \$25 and costs (House of Correction)"; "Walked around Chicago all night. Belongs to 7th Regiment, 2012, discharged"; "Pool room raid, discharged"; "2012, sleeping in wagon, discharged"; "2012, sleeping in alley, drunk, discharged"; "standing in doorway 11 P. M., discharged"; "2012, loafing in depot, discharged"; "2012, standing on corner 5:30 A. M., discharged"; "2012, sleeping on roof of building at 1 A. M., discharged"; "2012, on railway property, had fight with officer, discharged"; "2012, on street 12:50 A. M., discharged. Said was picked up because of past arrest"; "Vagrancy, discharged"; "Bumming, discharged"; "Gang fight, discharged (ran away from Lincoln)"; "2012, out of work 1 month, probation 6 months"; "Smoking cigarette in the Park, discharged"; "2012 in a restaurant 6:30 A. M., discharged"; "2012, on street at 2 A. M., not staying home, discharged"; "2012, just out of the House of Correction, discharged"; "2012, picked up on suspicion, discharged"; "2012, picked up at 2 A. M., discharged"; "2012, goofing on the corner, discharged"; "2012, climbing up 'L' road to get a free ride, discharged"; "2012, on street at 3 P. M., discharged"; "2012, picked up going to work 8:30 A. M., discharged"; "2012, picked up 10:30 A. M., discharged"; "2012, sleeping in a barn, probation 6 months"; "2012, in an alley between 12 and 1 A. M., fined \$10 and costs"; "2012, standing on a corner, discharged"; "2012, picked up standing in front of a restaurant, discharged"; "2012, on street at 9 A. M., discharged"; "2012, bumming from home three weeks, discharged"; "2012, was hit on head by officer, \$200 and costs, sent to hospital for treatment, discharged"; "2012, on street at 5:30 A. M., "going to work, discharged"; "Robbery, C. C., \$2,500. Beaten up by policeman. His eye almost knocked out and wrist broken. Pontiac"; "2012, sleeping in a basement, discharged" "Fooling around a Ford on the street at 12 P. M., House of Correction, 2 months"; "2012, fight, discharged"; "Vagrancy, discharged"; "2012, cranking a car for a boy who said the car belonged to him, discharged"; "Picked up late, fined \$10 and costs"; "2012, is a bum, feeble-minded, sent to Lincoln"; "2012, discharged, ran away from Lincoln four days after commitment"; "2012, discharged."

The percentage of convictions for serious offenses (felonies) is even lower than the percentage of convictions for all offenses. The following table shows

(1) See report of the City Council Committee on Crime of the City of Chicago, (1915), pp. 42-43, Statistician's report, by E. Abbott.

The large percentage of discharges was explained in the earlier report by an account of the precise charges on which arrests had been made. A list of some of the typically trivial charges heard in the Boys' Court was given as follows:

J—T— is arrested because he "made a loud noise at 21st and Dearborn and threw a dog out in the street by the leg." H—S— is arrested for "standing on street corner at 8:50 P. M." A—D— for sleeping in a barn, and F—W— for sleeping on the prairie because he had just got a job and had no other place to go that night. E—E— "playing ball on street." G—S— "with two men sleeping in wagon at 2 A. M. at Liberty and Halsted Streets," all arrested. A—F— "sleeping in barn." C—T— "flipping trains into town." W—G— "singing" in Lincoln Park at the High Bridge. A—U— "girl said some remarks were made to her on street by defendant; defendant cannot speak English nor she his language." J—L— "sleeping in barn," two weeks later, "rushing the can with a crowd." J—B— "two boys sleeping in hallway," both boys arrested again within a few weeks for similar offense and discharged.

separately for felonies and misdemeanors the total number of charges and the total number of convictions.

TABLE VIII  
CHARGES AND CONVICTIONS AND PER CENT OF CONVICTIONS  
FOR FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS 1915-1921<sup>(1)</sup>

Year	Charges	FELONIES		MISDEMEANORS		
		Convic- tions	Per Cent Convicted	Charges	Convic- tions	Per Cent Convicted
1915	15,286	4,739	31.0	106,428	42,248	39.7
1916	12,314	3,325	27.0	99,273	33,441	33.9
1917	14,044	4,905	34.9	123,573	41,765	33.8
1918	12,080	3,341	35.9	98,739	30,844	31.2
1919	14,171	4,066	28.7	82,505	28,395	34.4
1920	15,272	4,282	28.0	79,180	24,228	30.6
1921	16,912	4,224	24.9	108,931	36,043	33.1

It appears from this table that approximately only one-fourth of the felony charges resulted in convictions. Thus out of every 100 persons who are arrested for serious offenses, many of whom are held to the Grand Jury and degraded and poisoned by a period of detention in the county jail, 75 are not convicted. The percentages of convictions varies for different crimes. In the table which follows, the charges and convictions for felonies for which 100 or more persons were brought into court are shown, together with the per cent of convictions.

TABLE IX.  
CONVICTIONS ON CERTAIN FELONY CHARGES IN THE MUNICIPAL AND CRIMINAL  
COURTS, 1920, WITH NUMBER OF CHARGES AND  
PERCENTAGE CONVICTED<sup>(1)</sup>

FELONIES	Number of Charges	Number of Convictions	Per Cent Convictions
Burglary.....	1,902	506	26.6
Burglary, attempted.....	141	40	28.4
Confidence game.....	1,011	138	13.6
Conspiracy.....	240	18	7.5
Crime against children.....	169	50	29.6
Embezzlement and larceny by..	184	31	16.8
Forgery.....	112	17	15.2
Larceny and Larceny by bailee .	5,471	2,533	46.3
Larceny of automobile.....	458	130	28.4
Malicious mischief.....	304	81	26.6
Murder.....	198	30	15.2
Murder, attempted.....	316	46	14.6
Rape.....	196	29	14.9
Receiving stolen property.....	1,150	197	17.0
Robbery.....	1,862	283	15.2
Robbery, attempted.....	187	25	13.3

(1) Compiled from Annual Reports Chicago Police Department.

This table shows that for many felonies the convictions fall below the 25 per cent for all felonies. For murder, only 15 per cent are convicted; for robbery 15 per cent; for embezzlement 16.8 per cent; for "confidence game" 13.6 per cent; for attempted murder 15 per cent; for receiving stolen property 17 per cent.

A small percentage of convictions may mean either that a large number of persons are arrested without evidence of guilt and therefore must be discharged as innocent or that persons who are really guilty are discharged through some inefficiency of the prosecuting machinery. In either case the result is demoralizing to the community. Innocent men cannot be treated like criminals without contamination. Such a system breeds criminals instead of preventing crime.

SMALL PERCENTAGE OF UNNECESSARY ARRESTS IN LONDON AND ENGLAND

The situation in Chicago as regards unnecessary arrests is in marked contrast to that in England. The following table shows the number of cases tried in the higher criminal courts in London in the year 1919, the most recent year for which statistics are available.

TABLE X		
DISPOSITION OF CASES (INDICTABLE OFFENSES) ASSIZES AND QUARTER SESSIONS, LONDON, 1919, NUMBERS AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION*		
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Number of persons for trial.....	<u>2,306</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Disposition:		
Found insane on arraignment.....	2	0.1
Guilty, but insane.....	3	0.1
Sentenced to death.....	2	0.1
Sentenced to penal servitude.....	97	4.2
Sentenced to imprisonment.....	908	39.4
Sentenced to Bortsal.....	85	3.7
Probation.....	444	19.3
Recognizances.....	180	7.8
Convicted and otherwise disposed of...	<u>22</u>	<u>0.9</u>
Total convicted.....	1,743	75.6
No prosecution {	2	0.1
Acquitted { Discharged.....	<u>561</u>	<u>24.3</u>
Total discharged.....	563	2.44

This table shows that in London in 1919, 76 per cent of the persons tried for indictable offenses in the higher criminal courts were convicted and 24 per

\* Compiled from Criminal Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1919, Table VI, (Cmd. 1424.)



cent were discharged. In the same year in Chicago 29 per cent of the felony cases disposed of resulted in convictions and 71 per cent were discharged. Last year (1921), in Chicago, 75 per cent of the felony cases disposed of were discharged and 25 per cent resulted in convictions.

It is of interest too, that the per cent of convictions in London was below the per cent for the whole of England and Wales. The following table shows the disposition of cases of persons tried for indictable offenses in England and Wales in 1919.

TABLE XI

DISPOSITION OF CASES (INDICTABLE OFFENSES) ASSIZES AND QUARTER  
SESSIONS, ENGLAND AND WALES, 1919, NUMBERS AND  
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Number of Persons for Trial.....	7,883	100.0
Found insane on arraignment.....	29	0.4
Guilty, but insane.....	29	0.4
Sentenced to death.....	24	0.3
Sentenced to penal servitude.....	376	4.8
Sentenced to imprisonment.....	3,914	49.6
Sentenced to Borstal.....	412	5.2
Probation.....	564	7.2
Recognizances.....	775	9.8
Convicted and otherwise disposed of.....	127	1.6
Total Convicted. ....	6,250	79.3
No Prosecution.....	8	0.1
Acquitted.....	1,625	20.6
Total Discharged.....	1,633	20.7

\* Compiled from Criminal Judicial Statistics England and Wales, 1919, Table VI, (Cmd. 1424.)

This table shows that 79 per cent of these cases resulted in convictions and only 21 per cent were acquitted or not prosecuted.

As regards minor offenses a similar contrast exists between the British and the Chicago policy. The following table shows the disposition of cases in courts of summary jurisdiction in England and Wales in the year 1919.

TABLE XII

DISPOSITION OF CASES OF PERSONS PROCEEDED AGAINST IN COURTS OF SUMMARY JURISDICTION. ENGLAND AND WALES, 1919.

NUMBERS AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION(1)

	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Persons proceeded against.....	498,358	100.0
DISPOSITION:		
Sentenced to imprisonment.....	17,956	3.6
Sentenced to police cells.....	156	*
Sentenced to Reformatory and Industrial Schools.....	1,086	- 0.2
Fine.....	379,241	76.1
Recognizances.....	11,574	2.3
Probation.....	4,874	1.0
Sent to institutions for defectives.....	80	*
Otherwise disposed of.....	792	0.2
Total.....	415,759	83.4
Charge proved and case dismissed.....	28,421	5.7
Charge withdrawn or dismissed.....	54,178	10.9
Total.....	82,599	16.6

(1) Compiled from Criminal Judicial Statistics, England and Wales, 1919, (Cmd. 1424). Cases tried in the Juvenile Courts are not included in the table.

\* Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

In Chicago in 1919, 66 per cent of the misdemeanor charges in our criminal courts resulted in discharges and only 33 per cent in convictions, whereas in England and Wales in the same year, 83 per cent of all the persons proceeded against in the minor criminal courts, were convicted, and only 17 per cent acquitted or dismissed.

## SMALL PERCENTAGE OF UNNECESSARY ARRESTS IN CANADA

Not only in England but in Canada there is a small percentage of discharges and a large percentage of convictions in the criminal courts.

TABLE XIII

DISPOSITION OF INDICTABLE OFFENSES IN CANADA, 1919, ACQUITTALS AND CONVICTIONS, NUMBERS AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION(2)

	Numbers		Per Cent Distribution	
	1919	1920	1919	1920
Acquittals.....	4,625	4,770	20.1	20.5
Convictions.....	18,396	18,443	79.9	79.5
Charges.....	23,021	23,213	100.0	100.0

2 From 45th Annual Report of Criminal Statistics for Canada, 1920. p. x (10d, 1921).

This table shows that in Canada in two successive years there were, for indictable offenses, approximately 20 per cent of acquittals and 80 per cent of convictions, while in Chicago in the same time there were approximately 71 per cent of dismissals or acquittals and only 28 or 29 per cent of convictions.

These statistics present a challenge to the thoughtful citizen. Has the administration of criminal justice in Chicago become so inefficient or corrupt or both that out of every hundred felony charges, only 28 or 29 result in convictions whereas in the courts of Canada or in England approximately 75 or 80 out of every hundred persons tried for similar offenses are found guilty?

The statistics show that we have in Chicago a system of dealing with crime that is in itself a cause of crime. For a high percentage of discharges or acquittals means one of two things; Either innocent people are being arrested who must be discharged in court or who cannot even be prosecuted because there is insufficient evidence against them; or persons who are guilty are discharged because of inefficient, incompetent, or corrupt administration of the machinery of criminal justice. In either case, a crime-producing situation exists. For innocent men are made criminals through associating with criminals in police stations and jails and courts. And in the other case, the uncertainty of punishment, the large chances of escape from conviction tempt men to adopt or continue criminal careers.

The arrest of the innocent and the escape of the guilty are evils indicated by the high percentage of discharges and are evils which lead to an increase in crime and tend to defeat the very purpose for which the machinery of criminal justice is organized.

A more detailed study of the disposition of criminal cases shows other facts of interest about those convicted. The following table shows how cases were actually disposed of during a period of five years, the quinquennium, 1916-1920.



TABLE XIV

DISPOSITION OF CASES IN THE MUNICIPAL COURTS AND CRIMINAL  
COURTS, CHICAGO, 1916-1920

Disposition of Cases:	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
All cases disposed of.....	109,661	134,830	107,774	93,987	90,476
Sentenced to hang.....	2		1	4	7
Sentenced to Joliet and Chester Penitentiaries .....	198	199	116	235	198
Sentenced to Pontiac Reforma- tory.....	244	326	221	207	177
Sentenced to County Jail.....	105	380	296	221	370
Sentenced to House of Correction	2,508	3,655	3,045	2,425	2,086
Sentenced to other correctional institutions.....				8	24
Fined.....	30,809	38,754	29,092	25,586	21,878
Placed on probation.....	1,971	2,561	1,988	2,947	2,500
Released on peace bonds.....	135	112	64	146	740
Ordered to make weekly pay- ments.....	794	683	372	682	530
Bonds forfeited.....	611	412	309	612	3,206
Discharged, No bills by Grand Jury, nolle, etc.....	72,284	87,748	72,280	60,914	58,760

TABLE XIV (A)

## DISPOSITION OF CASES: QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGE 1916-1920

	Number	Per Cent Distribution
All cases disposed of.....	107,346	100.0
Sentenced to hang.....	3	*
Sentenced to major prisons (Joliet, Chester Pontiac.....	424	0.4
Sentenced to minor prisons (County Jail, House of Correction.....	3,023	2.8
Fined.....	29,224	27.2
Placed on probation.....	2,393	2.2
Released on peace bonds and ordered to make weekly payments.....	852	0.8
Bonds forfeited.....	1,030	1.0
Discharged, No bills, nolle, etc.....	70,397	65.6

\*Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

## COUNTY JAIL AND HOUSE OF CORRECTION

Other statistics which might also be expected to throw some light on the question of whether there has been an increase or decrease in crime are the statistics of the County Jail and House of Correction. The number of persons received in each of these institutions during the period 1914-1921 was as follows:

TABLE XV  
NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVED IN THE COUNTY JAIL AND IN  
THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION, 1914-1921

Year	Number of Per- sons Received in County Jail	Number of Per- sons Committed House of Cor- rection
1914.....	9,657	15,150
1915.....	*	16,446
1916.....	9,020	13,053
1917.....	*	15,930
1918.....	*	10,294
1919.....	8,618	5,723
1920.....	8,759	4,682
1921.....	10,642	8,566

\*Figures not available.

Statistics from the House of Correction are of interest because of the marked decline in the numbers received there in the years 1919 and 1920. The first conspicuous drop in numbers came in 1918, when the number committed fell from 15,930 in 1917 to 10,294 in the following year. Probably as a result of the prohibition law there was a further and a very marked decline continuing through the years 1919 and 1920. The commitments in 1921 increased very substantially over those for 1920 but the number committed in 1921 nevertheless remained 48 per cent below the number committed in 1915.

The statistics of the number of persons lodged in the County Jail should be compared with the number of convictions on felony charges. These two groups of statistics might be expected to follow the same general trend unless persons are detained in jail unnecessarily. However, comparing table XV with table VIII, the extraordinary fact appears that although the number of persons in the County Jail increased from 8,759 in 1920 to 10,642 in 1921, an increase of 21 per cent, the number of convictions on felony charges fell from 4,282 to 4,224, a decrease of 1 per cent.

### COMMITMENTS FOR THE NON-PAYMENT OF FINES

The City Council Crime Committee in 1915 reported that the Chicago House of Correction was being supported at great expense to the taxpayers largely to take care of men who were too poor to pay the small fines assessed

against them. For a series of years more than 80 per cent of the persons committed to the House of Correction had been committed for the non-payment of fines. This committee recommended the adoption of the system of allowing poor people to pay fines by installments so that men would no longer be committed to prison simply because of inability to pay their fines. The legislature approved this recommendation, and in 1915 passed an amendment to the adult probation law (an amendment recommended by the Chief Adult Probation Officer as well as by the City Council Committee) permitting the release on probation of men and women unable to pay fines and provided for the collection of fines by installments through the Adult Probation Department.

Recent statistics show that the judges are making little use of the installment fine system. No statistics are available as to the numbers of persons actually released under this system but the House of Correction statistics which are given below, show the numbers still committed not for their crimes but for their poverty.

TABLE XVI

COMMITMENTS TO THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION, 1914-1921

Year	Sentenced	Numbers Committed for Non-Payment of Fines	Fined and Sentenced	Total
1914	1,088	12,005	2,057	15,150
1915	1,111	12,841	2,494	16,446
1916	840	10,275	1,938	13,053
1917	1,334	12,103	2,493	15,930
1918	1,045	6,963	2,286	10,294
1919	797	3,509	1,417	5,723
1920	435	2,822	1,425	4,682
1921	672	6,005	1,889	8,566

Percentages

Year	Sentenced	Committed for Non-Payment of Fines	Fined and Sentenced	Total
1914	7.2	79.2	13.6	100.0
1915	6.7	78.1	15.2	100.0
1916	6.4	78.7	14.9	100.0
1917	8.4	76.0	15.6	100.0
1918	10.2	67.6	22.2	100.0
1919	13.9	61.3	24.8	100.0
1920	9.3	60.3	30.4	100.0
1921	7.8	70.1	22.1	100.0



This table shows that both the numbers of those committed to the House of Correction for all causes fell very sharply in 1918 and the following years and the numbers of those committed for the non-payment of fines fell along with all commitments. The table shows too that the percentage of those committed for the non-payment of fines fell from 79 per cent of the total number committed in 1914 to 60 per cent of the total committed in 1920, and then rose again in the year 1921 to 70 per cent of those committed.

That 70 per cent or even 60 per cent of those who are sent to the Bridewell to be supported at the expense of the taxpayers, are sent there only because they are poor, remains a public scandal and disgrace to the city of Chicago.

#### DECLINE IN COMMITMENTS FOR NON-PAYMENT OF FINES IN GREAT BRITAIN

These facts as to the extent of imprisonment for the non-payment of fines should be the more carefully considered in our country in view of the fact that the whole evil system has been practically swept away in Great Britain since the enactment of the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914. In our supposedly more democratic country it appears that in the second largest city in the country the judges sent last year to our city workhouse 6,000 men and women who were too poor to pay the fines imposed upon them. This evil is unfortunately not confined to Chicago; when the last federal census of prisoners was taken, the returns showed that in the country as a whole more than 290,000 persons were imprisoned in this way in a single year. In the meantime Great Britain has adopted the more efficient and humane policy of doing away gradually with this last surviving remnant of the out-worn system of imprisonment for debt. Since 1905, it had been optional with the British courts to give a man time to pay his fine, but in 1914 it ceased to be optional and became mandatory. The first section of the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914 provided that in all cases time must be given for the payment of fines and the time must not be less than seven clear days. At the end of this time further time may be allowed by the court and payment in instalments may be allowed. The act contains the further humane provision that in imposing a fine the court is to take into consideration "the means of the offender so far as they appear or are known to the court." This provision puts an end to what the Prison Commissioners for Scotland Yard called the "abuse which. . . arises from the imposition for certain offenses of fines upon a stereotyped scale, which necessarily press much more hardly upon the very poor than upon those who are better off." Reports of the three Prison Commissions of England, Scotland, and Ireland all testify to the beneficial results of the Act of 1914 in operation. The new system is not only humane but economical. The great saving to the taxpayers is indicated by the figures showing the great reduction in the number of persons committed to prison for the non-payment of fines in England and Wales in 1900-10 and 1910-20.<sup>(1)</sup>

Year	Number Committed for Non-payment of Fine	Per Cent of Total Commitments
1909-10	90,753	50
1919-20	9,303	26

(1) Report of the Commissioner of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons for the year ending 31st, March 1920 (Cmd. 972), pp. 9-10.

Other data relating to the payment of fines are found in the Criminal Judicial Statistics of England and Wales. In 1913, before the passage of the Act of 1914, fines were imposed by courts of summary jurisdiction in 502,554 cases, and 75,152 persons were committed for non-payment of fines. In 1919 fines were imposed in 393,726 cases but fewer than 10,000 persons were imprisoned for non-payment of fines. While this reduction has been largely due to the Criminal Justice Administration Act, the fact should not be overlooked that it is also due in part to the fact that the fines assessed have remained at the old pre-war rate and have not increased to correspond with the higher rates of wages, and a much larger proportion of offenders have therefore been able to pay the fines imposed.<sup>(1)</sup> That is, the poor and the rich have been placed more nearly on a footing of equality before the law.

PERSONS ARE COMMITTED FOR VERY SMALL FINES

Not only do our statistics show that hundreds of persons are being annually imprisoned for inability to pay fines but these persons are imprisoned for fines of very small amounts. The following table shows the amount of the fines for which people are committed to the Chicago House of Correction.

TABLE XVII				
NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION FOR NON-PAYMENT OF FINES OF SPECIFIED AMOUNTS—1921				
Amount of Fine		Number of Persons Committed for Non- Payment of Fines		
		Per Cent Distribution		
Less than \$5		86	Commitments	1.4
\$ 5 and less than \$ 10		940	for less than	15.7
10 and less than 15	1,126	\$20:	18.8	\$20:
15 and less than 20	1,158	3.310	19.3	55.2 per cent
20 and less than 30	234		3.9	
30 and less than 40	925		15.4	
40 and less than 50	19		0.3	
50 and less than 75	521		8.7	
75 and less than 100	19		0.3	
100 and less than 150	538		8.9	
150 and less than 200	5		0.1	
200 and over	433		7.2	
Total	6,005		100.0	

(1) Cmd. 1424, p. 6. The use of the short sentence has also been largely done away with in Great Britain by the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914. The act contains two provisions designed to do away with short and useless sentences of imprisonment: (1) The courts are given power to substitute for a sentence of imprisonment, an order that the offender be detained for one day within the precincts of the court. (2) If a sentence of imprisonment does not exceed four days, the offender is not to be sent to jail, but is to be detained in a "suitable place" certified as such by the Home Secretary. The Commissioners of Prisons for England and Wales emphasized in their 1915 report the importance of the Act of 1914 in preventing the development of a criminal class. As to the short sentence they say that it has not a "single redeeming feature." "It carries with it all the social stigma and industrial penalties of imprisonment with no commensurate gain to the offender or the community. If there still survives in the minds of administrators of justice the obsolete and exploded theory that prison is essentially a place for punishment—and for punishment alone—for the expiation of offenses in dehumanizing, senseless tasks, and arbitrary discipline, truly there could not be devised a more diabolical form of punishment than the short sentence oft repeated" (Report of the Prison Commissioners (Cd. 7837, p. 18.)

These statistics of commitment for the non-payment of fines show that in 1921, 86 persons were imprisoned in Chicago for fines of less than \$5; 940 for fines ranging from \$5 to \$10; 1126 for fines ranging from \$10 to \$15; and 1158 for fines ranging from \$15 to \$20. That is, taking the numbers cumulatively, 3,310 persons, over 55 per cent of the whole number, were sent to prison in Chicago in 1921 for fines of less than \$20.

#### USE OF THE PROBATION SYSTEM

It is in line with our reluctance to use the instalment fine system that the use of the adult probation system has made so little progress in Chicago in recent years. The following table shows the number of probationers 1914-1921.

TABLE XVIII

NUMBER OF PERSONS CONVICTED. NUMBER ON PROBATION, AND PER CENT OF CONVICTED PERSONS PLACED ON PROBATION IN CHICAGO, 1914-1921

Year	Total Number Convicted	Number Placed on Probation	Per Cent of Con- victed Persons Placed on Probation
1914	50,630	4,696	9.3
1915	95,496	3,629	3.8
1916	36,766	3,763	10.2
1917	46,670	4,554	9.7
1918	35,185	3,922	11.1
1919	32,461	4,657	14.2
1920	28,510	3,692	12.9
1921	40,267	2,417	6.0

This table shows that there was a significant decrease in 1921 in the number of persons placed on probation and in the per cent of convicted persons released on probation. This decline is to be deplored in view of the increase in the number of persons committed for the non-payment of fines and in the face of the increasing public confidence in the social value of the probation system which is felt in other communities. As to this point the report of the New York City Magistrates' Court for 1920 in a discussion of the "value of effective probation work" contains the following statement:

"Probation is not only the best way, but also the most economic way of dealing with delinquents. Every man or woman saved from a life of criminality is a spiritual and economic gain to the community. This "Reformatory without walls" saves the City a great deal of money each year and, instead of being an increased expense to the city, is in reality a great tax saver. *The Economic*



gain from improved Probation will exceed in far greater proportion the increase in the appropriation. Finally, if Probation saves men from further crime, it reclaims them from evil to good citizenship, it is, even at much, cost good economy in the truest sense of the word " (p. 78.)

STATISTICS OF MURDER IN CHICAGO

The number of murders committed from year to year may be expected to afford some evidence of crime conditions in the community. It is however, exceedingly difficult to say how many murders have been committed in any one year. That is, it is difficult to say how many cases of homicide should be called murders, how many should be called cases of manslaughter, how many should be classified as accidental homicides. Sometimes this cannot be decided until a jury comes to a decision; but, in general, after the prosecuting officials have studied the evidence a reasonably satisfactory conclusion will be reached.

WHEN IS A MURDER A MURDER?

In 1920 the chief of police published in his annual report a list of 116 so-called "premeditated murders" in Chicago. In the same report in the statistics of arrests are 198 charges of murder and the Municipal Court in 1920 disposed of 107 hearings in murder cases. The present so-called "Chicago Crime Commission" reported 194 murders in the same year.

TABLE XIX  
NUMBER OF MURDERS AND RELATED CHARGES IN CHICAGO, 1910-1920  
(From Annual Reports of Police Department)

Number of Charges		
Year	Murder	Manslaughter
1910	61	20
1911	88	33
1912	170	41
1913	219	43
1914	229	72
1915	194	68
1916	193	71
1917	188	72
1918	134	130
1919	193	88
1920	198	92

TABLE XX

MURDER AND RELATED CASES DISPOSED OF IN THE  
MUNICIPAL COURT, 1910-1920

Year	Number of Cases Disposed of Murder	Manslaughter
1910	137	22
1911	116	25
1912	87	40
1913	103	46
1914	120	43
1915	100	42
1916	131	39
1917	107	38
1918	79	78
1919	135	41
1920	107	64

TABLE XXI

PREMEDITATED MURDERS, SENTENCES TO HANG, AND  
EXECUTIONS, 1915-1921

Year	Premeditated Murders*	Sentenced to Hang*	Hanged**
1915	77		
1916	105	5	1
1917	91		
1918	95	1	4
1919	154***	4	3
1920	116	7	8
1921	137	1	

\*Compiled from Annual Police Reports.

\*\*From Daily News Almanac

\*\*\*Race Riots 21

The murder statistics used by the "Chicago Crime Commission" differ from those just given. The Crime Commission has published in its reports statistics of the number of murders in Chicago as follows: in 1919, 330; in 1920, 194; and 1921, 190.(1)

(1) The source of these statistics is not given in the "Crime Commission" reports. For further comment on this subject see the article on "Chicago Crime Statistics," by the present writer in the forthcoming (November) number of the JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, AND CRIMINOLOGY. The article contains the material here published with a more detailed discussion of some points than could be included here.

In 1917 the Illinois legislature passed a bill abolishing capital punishment, which was vetoed by Governor Lowden. It is significant that as a result the increase in the number of murders in the years following cannot be attributed, as it otherwise certainly would have been by many people, to the fact that with hanging abolished the criminal law was no longer sufficiently deterrent. The deterrent feature of the law has been used to the limit, and murder has still increased. These facts would seem indeed to reinforce the opposite theory that harsh and brutal punishments tend to increase rather than to prevent crime.

That harsh punishments and the attending publicity tend to increase crime was discovered 150 years ago by Blackstone and Bentham in the eighteenth century; and in the first quarter of the nineteenth century their work was carried forward by Romilly and Mackintosh and the younger Peel who abolished capital punishment for scores of offenses and established the new principle that crime could be more successfully prevented by an effective police system than by hanging or branding or mutilating the criminals. Nearly a hundred years have passed since Peel established that great organization known as the Metropolitan Police. In London, life was made safe, property protected and crime in general prevented by abolishing the harsh sanctions of the law on the one hand and substituting on the other an efficient body of police.

It is worth while here to recall Blackstone's statement as to the effect of harsh punishments, a statement that had so profound an influence upon the English lawyers of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a well-known paragraph in the *Commentaries* Blackstone referred to the fact that 160 offenses were then punishable by death under the English law. Commenting on this, Blackstone said:

"So dreadful a list, instead of diminishing, increases the number of offenders. The injured through compassion, will often forbear to prosecute; juries, through compassion, will sometimes forget their oaths, and either acquit the guilty or mitigate the nature of the offense; and judges, through compassion, will respite one half of the convicts, and recommend them to the royal mercy. Among so many chances of escaping, the needy and hardened offender overlooks the multitude that suffer; he boldly engages in some desperate attempt, to relieve his wants or supply his vices, and, if unexpectedly the hand of justice overtakes him, he deems himself peculiarly unfortunate, in falling at last a sacrifice to those laws, which long impunity has taught him to contemn.

#### STATISTICS OF MURDER IN LONDON

In the year 1920 there were in London 15 murders of persons above the age of one year.<sup>(1)</sup> With a population of 4,521,685, this is at the rate of 3 murders per 1,000,000 population, in comparison with 73 per million in Chicago.

A further contrast between the London and the Chicago situation is found in the method of dealing with such cases of murder as occur. In 4 of the 15 cases of murder in London the murderer committed suicide. In 9 of the remaining cases, 11 arrests were made, and the cases were disposed of as follows: convicted and sentenced, 3; found insane, 5; acquitted, 1. In the case of the

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(1) Cases of abortion are excluded.



single acquittal, it was admitted that the person had been guilty of the homicide though not guilty of murder. There remained only 2 cases of murder in which the murderer was not discovered by the police.

Contrast this situation with ours in Chicago. In 1920 there were 116 "premeditated murders" reported by the police. In 17 cases the murderer either committed suicide or was killed himself. In 50 of the remaining 99 cases no arrests were made, and the police report actually describes 53 cases as "unsolved." In the 49 cases in which arrests were made, 104 persons were arrested. The disposition of these cases during the course of the year was as follows: hanged, 3; under sentence to hang, 5; sentenced to Joliet, 21; sent to an insane asylum, 1; acquitted, 17, not billed, nolle prossed, or stricken off, 32; pending 25.(2)

#### STATISTICS OF MURDER IN CANADA

Coming nearer home, we find statistics of murder in Canada also very different from our own. For the years 1918, 1919 and 1920 the total number of charges of murder in Canada, with the disposition, were as follows:

TABLE XXII

#### CHARGES OF MURDER IN CANADA, 1918-1920

	Number			Per Cent Distribution		
	1918	1919	1920	1918	1919	1920
Acquitted.....	23	44	28	46.9	55.7	49.1
Detained for lunacy...	7	7	3	14.3	8.9	5.3
Capital sentence.....	19	28	26	38.8	35.4	45.6
	49	79	57	100.0	100.0	100.0

Over a period of ten years, the quinquennial averages for murder in Canada\* were as follows:

	Charges	Convictions	Executions	Percentage of Convictions of Total Number of Charges
1911-1915	61.6	25.0	12.8	40.6
1916-1920	58.0	22.0	9.0	38.0

\*From 45th Annual Report of Criminal Statistics of Canada, p. ix (No. 10d, 1921).

(2) Data compiled from 1920 Report Chicago Police Department, p. 29.

Statistics of murder in London are especially significant in comparison with our Chicago statistics, since in London the policemen carried no weapon except "a light wooden truncheon, incapable of inflicting serious damage."<sup>(1)</sup> The Chicago police, like the police in other American cities, are not only armed to shoot but do actually shoot and kill a very considerable number of persons in the course of a year.<sup>(2)</sup> Imitation is an important factor in the crime situation. Violence on the part of the police and sensational reports of violence in the newspapers lead to further violence and to the carrying of weapons by citizens who should be unarmed.

## CONCLUSION

The facts about crime should not only be recorded with the greatest accuracy, but they should be given the fullest publicity. If we are to punish 125,000 of the members of our community in a single year, by arresting them and trying them in our criminal courts, if we are to punish 19,000 persons by imprisoning them in dark and sunless places like our own two great prisons the County Jail and the House of Correction, we should at least know how and why these men and women are being punished. As to the numbers of persons who are shut up during the year in the cells of our other prisons, the 37 police stations of Chicago, no statistics are available. In its report of 1915 the Merriam Crime Committee called attention to the fact that no records were available to show how many persons were during the year locked up in the police station cells for one or more nights.<sup>(2)</sup> The locking up of men and women in police stations may seem a trivial thing to those who never expect to suffer this indignity. But careful records should be kept and published of the number of poor persons, for they are literally poor persons, who do suffer in this way. At present no facts regarding confinement in police stations are ever published. The victims of the "stations," like the victims of the "third degree," remain beyond the count of the statistician.

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(1) Raymond B. Fosdick, *European Police Systems*, p. 234.

Mr. Fosdick's comment on the general attitude of the London police to the public is of interest: "The calm, patient, undisturbed attitude of the London constable, sometimes under circumstances of the most irritating and provoking nature, has become proverbial. I saw a large squad of them standing unmoved and apparently unobservant, when well-aimed stones were being hurled at them by a group of strikers. When ordered to charge they do so, calmly and deliberately. Scorning to use their truncheons, they rolled up their rubber ponchos and with these weapons beat back their assailants" (*Ibid.*, pp. 234-35).

(2) The report of the Chicago Police Department very commendably publishes a list of these police homicides, classified as "justifiable and excusable homicides," which are committed in the course of the year. A further discussion of this point by the writer may be found in the *NATION*, March 8, 1922, pp. 286-287, and in the forthcoming November number of the *JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINOLOGY*.

(2) Report of the City Council Committee on Crime of the City of Chicago (1915), p. 36.

# Statistical Tables

REFERRED TO

IN

Dr. Kirchwey's Report.



**TABLE A-1\***  
**DAILY POPULATION OF THE COOK COUNTY JAIL DECEMBER**  
**1ST, 1920, TO NOVEMBER 30TH, 1921, INCLUSIVE**

Number of days on which the population was:

	650 699	700 749	750 799	800 849	850 899	900 949	950 1000	1000 1049
Total.....	6	66	63	45	73	40	62	10
December.....	..	8	18	5	..	..	..	..
January.....	..	2	1	17	10	1	..	..
February.....	..	..	..	..	15	12	1	..
March.....	..	..	..	..	21	9	1	..
April.....	..	..	3	13	12	2	..	..
May.....	..	13	17	1	..	..	..	..
June.....	..	14	16	..	..	..	..	..
July.....	6	22	3	..	..	..	..	..
August.....	..	7	5	9	10	..	..	..
September.....	..	..	..	..	5	9	16	..
October.....	..	..	..	..	..	3	21	7
November..				..		4	23	3

**DAILY POPULATION OF THE COOK COUNTY JAIL**  
**DECEMBER 1, 1919, TO NOVEMBER 30, 1920, INCLUSIVE**

Number of days on which the populations was:

Month.....	500 549	550 599	600 649	650 699	700 749	750 799	800 849	850 899
Total.....	30	154	89	11	70	12	..	..
December.....	..	5	22	4	..	..	..	..
January.....	..	11	15	..	..	5	..	..
February.....	..	26	3	..	..	..	..	..
March.....	5	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
April.....	23	5	2	..	..	..	..	..
May.....	..	21	10	..	..	..	..	..
June.....	..	17	13	..	..	..	..	..
July.....	1	29	1	..	..	..	..	..
August.....	1	14	16	..	..	..	..	..
September.....	..	..	7	5	18	..	..	..
October.....	..	..	..	2	29	..	..	..
November.....	..	..	..	..	23	7	..	..

**DAILY POPULATION OF THE COOK COUNTY JAIL  
DECEMBER, 1918, TO NOVEMBER, 1919, Inclusive**

Number of days on which the jail population was:

Month	450 499	500 549	550 599	600 649	650 699	700 749		
Total .....	32	46	93	148	38	3		
December .....	22	9	..	..	..	..		
January .....	8	18	5	..	..	..		
February .....	..	..	1	10	..	..		
March .....	..	..	12	19	..	..		
April .....	..	..	..	25	5	..		
May .....	..	..	..	14	17	..		
June .....	..	..	..	12	15	3		
July .....	2	19	10	..	..	..		
August .....	..	..	22	9	..	..		
September .....	..	..	6	24	..	..		
October .....	..	..	10	21	..	..		
November .....	..	..	15	14	1	..		

**DAILY POPULATION OF THE COOK COUNTY JAIL  
DECEMBER, 1917, TO NOVEMBER, 1918, INCLUSIVE**

Number of days on which the jail population was:

Month	450 499	500 549	550 599	600 649	650 699	700 749	750 799	800 849	850 899
Total .....	33	49	9	58	55	48	62	45	1
December .....	..	..	..	..	..	1	26	4	..
January .....	..	..	..	..	..	3	13	15	..
February .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	21	1
March .....	..	..	..	..	2	14	10	5	..
April .....	..	..	..	..	8	20	2	..	..
May .....	..	..	..	..	16	10	5	..	..
June .....	..	..	..	14	16	..	..	..	..
July .....	..	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..
August .....	..	1	9	8	13	..	..	..	..
September .....	..	25	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
October .....	8	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
November .....	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

\*Tabulated from Jailer's Records.

**TABLE A-2**  
**COOK COUNTY JAIL POPULATION**  
**SEX, COLOR, AND AGE**  
1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921\*  
(Compiled from County Jail Annual Reports)

Year	Total Jail Population	SEX				COLOR				AGE**							
		Male		Female		White		Colored		Under 21 yrs		21 to 30 yrs		31 to 40 yrs		41 to 50 yrs	
		Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
1914	9657	9022	93.4	635	6.6	8445	87.5	1212	12.5	1703	17.6	4517	46.8	2100	21.7	913	9.5
																424	4.4
1916	9020	8290	91.9	730	8.1	7792	86.4	1228	13.6	1609	17.8	3990	44.2	1901	21.1	1056	11.7
																464	5.2
1919	8618	8078	93.7	540	6.3	(a) 6961	80.8	(a) 1655	19.2	(b) 2197	25.5	(b) 3468	39.5	(b) 1881	21.8	(b) 754	8.8
																(b) 376	4.4
1920	8759	8335	95.2	424	4.8	7315	83.5	1444	16.5	2119	24.2	3566	40.7	1954	22.3	774	8.8
																346	4.0
1921	10642	10164	95.5	478	4.5	(e) 8768	82.4	(c) 1866	17.5	(d) 2214	20.8	(d) 4337	40.8	(d) 2534	23.8	(d) 1035	9.7
																(d) 514	4.8

\* Reports not available for 1915, 1917, and 1918.

\*\* County Jail Annual Reports do not tabulate specific ages under 21 years.

(a) These figures total 8616, not 8618, the total given in the yearly summary.

Yearly summary notes "Lost Male Records—2"

(b) These age-groups total 8616, not 8618 given in the yearly summary.

Yearly summary notes "Lost Male Records—2"

(c) These figures total 10634, not 10642, the total given in the yearly summary, therefore the percentages do not total 100.0.

(d) These age-groups total 10634, not 10642, the total given in the yearly summary, therefore the percentages do not total 100.0.

(e) Under "Number of times arrested" classification, number of boys is 2144.



**TABLE A-3**  
**BOYS UNDER 17 YEARS OF AGE IN THE COUNTY JAIL CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE\***  
**JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1921**

CHARGE	AGE (In years)				
	Total	13	14	15	16
Total.....	82	1	2	8	71
Assault to Rob.....	2	..	..	1	1
Bastardy.....	1	..	..	..	1
Burglary.....	17	..	..	1	16
Carrying Concealed Weapons.....	1	..	..	..	1
Disorderly Conduct.....	11	..	1	..	10
Forgery.....	1	..	..	..	1
Larceny.....	20	..	1	..	19
Murder.....	1	..	..	1	..
National Motor Theft Act.....	1	..	..	..	1
Obtaining Money or Goods by False Pretense.....	1	..	..	..	1
Rape.....	3	..	..	1	2
Receiving Stolen R. R. Property.....	1	..	..	..	1
Remand U. S.....	2	..	..	1	1
Robbery.....	6	..	..	1	5
Robbery with a Revolver.....	4	..	..	..	4
Safe Keeping.....	4	1	..	..	3
Safe Keeping U. S. A.....	1	..	..	1	..
Sodomy.....	1	..	..	..	1
Violation of Prohibition.....	1	..	..	..	1
Burglar having Burglar Tools.....	1	..	..	..	1
Confidence Game, Disorderly Conduct.....	1	..	..	..	1
Larceny, Speeding.....	1	..	..	1	..

\*Tabulated from individual record cards on file in the office of Warden of Jail, for year January to December 1921. (The Jail fiscal year runs from December 1st to November 30th, these figures, therefore will not coincide with the Jail Annual Report).

**TABLE A-4**  
**TABLE SHOWING COOK COUNTY JAIL POPULATION**  
**BY CHARGE, NUMBER OF BOYS HELD, AND NUMBER OF BOYS CLASSED AS FIRST OFFENDERS**  
**1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921**  
 (Compiled from County Jail Annual reports)

CHARGE	1914			1916			1919			1920			1921		
	Total Num- ber Held	Boys Held	Num- ber Boys Classed as First Offend- ers*	Total Num- ber Held	Boys Held	Num- ber Boys Classed as First Offend- ers*	Total Num- ber Held	Boys Held	Num- ber Boys Classed as First Offend- ers*	Total Num- ber Held	Boys Held	Num- ber Boys Classed as First Offend- ers*	Total Num- ber Held	Boys Held	Num- ber Boys Classed as First Offend- ers*
Total .....	(a) 9560	1565	1098	(b) 8904	1529	775	(c) 8692	2111	1038	(d) 8726	2017	1230	(f) 10709	2134	1281
Murder .....	217	24		182	17		213	46		173	20		159	13	
Robbery .....	765	179		756	229		940	276		765	246		1085	296	
Burglary .....	1110	389		792	265		744	463		1168	416		1260	455	
Assault to Kill ..	242	30		183	11		117	17		178	29		249	15	
Confidence Game ..	511	49		293	17		239	20		232	29		479	64	
Embezzlement ..	114	7		97	5		56	3		69	4		72	9	
Arson .....	33	3		13			21	7		3			29	4	
Rape .....	174	33		99	24		138	45		165	35		192	28	
Larceny .....	1528	294		1546	380		2167	547		1774	602		1710	512	
Other Felonies**	785	92		574	72		485	48		942	91		1194	106	
Other	3955	459		4216	496		3333	594		2940	524		3683	562	
Misdemeanors**															
Other Reasons	66	1		104	6		198	41		259	21		365	39	
for Detention***															
Miscellaneous.....	60	5		49	7		41	4		58			232	31	

\* First Offenders not Classified by Charge. Reports for 1915, 1917 and 1918 not available.  
 \*\* Classifications of felonies and misdemeanors are based upon reports of the Police Department, and the Municipal Court with the exception of seven charges, the classification of which was verified by the Illinois Statutes.  
 \*\*\* Fugitive, Safe-Keeping, Writ Ne Exeat, Violation of Parole.  
 (a) Under two other classifications, the total appears 9657. Elsewhere it varies from both.  
 (b) Under sex and color classifications, in the yearly summary, total is given as 9020.  
 (c) In 1919 summary, total appears as 8618.  
 (d) In 1920 summary, total appears as 8759.  
 (e) In 1921 summary, number of boys appears as 2036.  
 (f) In 1921 summary, total appears as 10,642.  
 (g) In 1921 summary, number of boys appears as 2145.

TABLE A-5

## COOK COUNTY JAIL POPULATION PREVIOUS RECORD BY SEX

With a division between males under and over twenty years.

(Figures from County Jail Annual Reports)

	TOTAL	BOYS*	MEN*	WOMEN**
Total 1914	9567	1483	7641	533
First Offenders.....	6941	1098	5476	357
Second Offenders.....	1378	237	1075	66
Third and more Frequent Offenders....	1338	148	1090	100
Total 1916	(a) 9009	1529	6750	730
First Offenders.....	4938	775	3715	448
Second Offenders.....	1958	380	1457	121
Third and More Frequent Offenders...	2113	374	1578	161
Total 1919	(b) 8620	(b) 2110	(b) 5970	540
First Offenders.....	4312	1068	2885	359
Second Offenders.....	2162	581	1486	95
Third and More Frequent Offenders...	2146	461	1599	86
Total 1920	(c) 7479	2036	(c) 5299	(c) 144
First Offenders.....	4660	1230	3399	31
Second Offenders.....	1010	516	411	83
Third and More Frequent Offenders...	1809	290	1489	30
Total 1921	(d) 10638	(d) 2144	(d) 8015	(d) 479
First Offenders.....	5969	1281	4365	323
Second Offenders.....	2660	587	1974	108
Third and More Frequent Offenders...	2009	285	1676	48

\* County Jail Annual Reports do not specify, by number of times arrested, exact age, under or over twenty years. Reports for 1915, 1917 and 1918, not available.

\*\* County Jail Annual Reports do not specify ages of women by number of times arrested.

(a) Total given in yearly summary for 1916, is 9020.

(b) Total given in yearly summary for 1919, is 8618; total Boys, 2111; total Men, 5967. There are noted in the summary "2 lost male records."

(c) Total given in yearly summary for 1920, is 8759; total Men, 6299; total Women, 424. There is noted in the yearly summary, "1 lost female record." It will be seen that the figures for 1920 show wide discrepancies when the various classifications in that year are compared.

(d) Total given in yearly summary for 1921 is 10,642; total Boys, 2145 (under age classification number Boys is 2214); total Men, 8019; total Women, 478.



**TABLE A-6**  
**AGE BY NUMBER OF ARRESTS ADMITTED; BOYS IN THE COUNTY JAIL**  
**DURING THE YEAR 1921\***

NUMBER OF ARRESTS ADMITTED	TOTAL		AGE (in years)									Not Reported
	Num- ber	Per Cent	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
TOTAL	2512	100.0	1	2	8	71	498	546	458	478	448	2
1	1488	59.2		1	7	54	291	333	274	279	249	
2	673	26.8	1	1		13	138	150	123	124	123	
3	230	9.1				2	56	34	46	43	48	1
4	62	2.5				2	7	18	7	9	13	1
5	25	1.0					5	5	3	11	6	
6	15	0.6					1	5	3	4	2	
Over 6	12	0.5			1					4	7	
Not Reported	7	0.3						1	2	4		

\* Tabulated from individual record cards on file in office of Warden of Jail, for year Jan.-Dec. 1921.  
The Jail fiscal year runs from Dec. 1, 1920 to Nov. 30, 1921. These figures will therefore not coincide with Jail Annual Report.

**TABLE A-7**  
**AGE BY NUMBER OF ARRESTS ADMITTED; BOYS AND GIRLS OF JUVENILE**  
**COURT AGE IN THE COUNTY JAIL DURING THE YEAR 1921\***

NUMBER OF ARRESTS ADMITTED	TOTAL	AGE					
		BOYS					GIRLS
		Total	13	14	15	16	17
Total	84	82	1	2	8	71	2
1	62	62		1	7	54	
2	17	15	1	1		13	2
3	2	2				2	
4	2	2				2	
5							
6							
Over 6	1	1					
Not Reported							

\* Tabulated from individual record cards on file in office of Warden of Jail, for year January-December 1921.  
The Jail fiscal year runs from December 1st, 1920, to November 30, 1921. These figures therefore, will not coincide with Jail Annual Report.

TABLE A-8

**NUMBER OF ARRESTS ADMITTED BY CHARGE; BOYS OF JUVENILE COURT AGE IN THE COUNTY  
JAIL DURING THE YEAR 1921\***

CHARGE	NUMBER OF ARRESTS ADMITTED						
	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6 Over 6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>1</b>
Assault to Rob	2	2					
Bastardy	1		1				
Burglary	17	13	2	1			1
False Pretense	1	1					
Forgery	1	1					
Larceny	20	14	3	1	2		
Murder	1	1					
National Motor Theft Act	1		1				
Remand, U. S.	2	2					
Rape	3	3					
Robbery	6	5	1				
Robbery with a Revolver	4	3	1				
Safe-Keeping	4	3	1				
Safe-Keeping, U. S.	1	1					
Sodomy	1	1					
Disorderly Conduct (2012)	1	1					
Carrying Concealed Weapon (2807)	11	8	3				
Receiving Stolen R. R. Property (242 HA Ch. 38)	1	1					
Burglary and Having Burglary Tools	1	1					
Confidence Game and Disorderly Conduct (2012)	1	1					
Larceny and Speeding (22 M. V. L.)	1	1					
Violation of Probation, Confidence Game	1		1				

\* Tabulated from individual record cards on file in office of Warden of Jail, for year January-December, 1921.  
The Jail fiscal year runs from December 1st, 1920 to November 30, 1921. These figures will, therefore, not coincide with Jail Annual Report.

TABLE A-10.

**FINAL DISPOSITION OF THE 193 PRISONERS HELD IN COUNTY JAIL ON DECEMBER 1, 1920,  
FOR WHOM THERE IS NO FINAL DISPOSITION IN JAIL RECORDS**

FINAL DISPOSITION	Jail Disposition									
	TOTAL		Not Returned from M. C.	Bail Given M. C.	Bail Given C. C.	Released on own Recognizance	Released on Super-seas Bond	Relator Dis-charged*	Still incar-cerated*	No Re-port
	Per Cent	Num-ber								
	100.0	193	91	31	50	6	3	2	3	7
Discharged Without Trial.	28.0	54	14	8	28	3		1		
No Bill—Grand Jury.		3		1	2					
Nolle-Prossed.		7		3	4					
Stricken Off.		27	2		22(d)	3				
Dismissed for Want of Prosecution.		17	12 (a)	4				1 (f)		1
Brought to Trial and Found Not Guilty.	31.2	66 (e)	46	14	5					
Not Guilty—Municipal Court.		56	46	10						
Not Guilty—Criminal Court.		10		4	5					1
Brought to Trial and Convicted.	31.1	60	27	4	15	3	2	1	2	6
Guilty—Municipal Court.		27	24	3						
Guilty—Criminal Court.		33	3	1	15	3	2	1 (g)	2	6
No Sentence Recorded.	6.7	13	4	5	2		1		1	
Turned Over to Naval Authorities.		1	1							
Bond Forfeited.		5		5						
Pending*.		3			1 (b)		1 (c)		1	
No Report.		4	3		1					

\* May, 1922.

(a) In one hasty case, the parties married.

(b) The charge is murder.

(c) Penitentiary sentence was affirmed, but two other burglary charges are still pending.

(d) In one case in which two charges were preferred, one was stricken off, the other nolle.

(e) In one case two charges were preferred on one of which the verdict was not guilty, the other was nolle-prossed.

(f) M. Record reads, "By agreement between parties defendant pays \$8.50 costs. Cause is dismissed.

(g) C. C. Record reads, "Sentenced on plea (of Guilty) to Penitentiary.



TABLE A-11

## COOK COUNTY JAIL—"CASES DISPOSED OF" 1914, 1916, 1919, 1921

(Compiled from Cook County Jail Annual Reports) (a)

DISPOSITION	1914		1916		1919		1921	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total .....	9458	100.0	8917	100.0	8736	100.0	10530	100.0
Discharged Without Trial .....	1064	11.3	842	9.5	922	10.6	1621	15.4
No Bill—Grand Jury .....	479		290		93		144	
Nolle-Prossed—Criminal Court .....	41		24		35		58	
Stricken Off—Criminal Court .....	122		97		53		200	
Released on Order—Circuit Court .....	113		65		35		105	
Released on Order—Superior Court .....							60	
Released on Order—County Court .....	6		54		6		3	
Released on Order—Criminal Court .....	37							
Released on Order—U. S. Court .....	266		312		700		1051	
Brought to Trial and Found not Guilty .....	273	2.9	168	1.9	157	1.8	266	2.5
Not Guilty—Criminal Court .....	273		168		157		266	
Brought to Trial and Convicted .....	1649	17.4	1438	16.1	1607	18.4	1803	17.1
Sentenced to County Jail (b) .....	297		204		412		283	
House of Correction .....	454		380		285		482	
Joliet Penitentiary .....	437		321		297		365	
Pontiac Reformatory .....	131		242		237		286	
Chester .....	6		5		8		12	
Egin .....					1		1	
Kankakee .....	1				2		6	
Lincoln .....							3	
Dunning .....							1	
Executed .....					5		11	
Placed on Probation .....	323		286		310		353	
Dispositions Not Final .....	6449	68.2	6380	71.6	5742	65.7	6567	62.4
Disposed of in Municipal Court .....	4173		4110		2878		3410	
Bail Given—Municipal Court .....	1445		1444		1325		1622	
Bail Given—Criminal Court .....	795		821		1539		1535	
Released on Habeas Corpus .....	14		5					
Released on Own Recognizance .....	9							
Released on Super Sedes Bond .....	13							
Transferred .....			12	0.1	61	0.7	103	1.0
Delivered to Parole Agent .....			12		61		103	
Abated by Death .....	4	(c)	2	(c)	4	(c)	3	(c)
Died in County Hospital .....							1	
Died in County Jail .....	4		2		4		2	
Miscellaneous .....	19	0.2	75	0.8	243	2.8	167	1.6

(a) Reports for 1915, 1917, and 1918 are not available. The Annual Report of 1920 contains no tabulation of Dispositions.

(b) Released at expiration of Sentence.

(c) Less than one tenth of one percent.

TABLE A-12

**PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL IN THE COUNTY JAIL ON DECEMBER 1, 1920\*\***  
**CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF DAYS AWAITING TRIAL AND COURT IN WHICH TRIED\***

NUMBER OF DAYS AWAITING TRIAL	PERSONS AWAITING TRIAL IN							
	ALL COURTS		CRIMINAL COURT (a)		MUNICIPAL COURT (b)		FEDERAL COURT (b)	
	Number	Cumulative per cent	Number	Cumulative per cent	Number	Cumulative per cent	Number	.....
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>587</b>		<b>437</b>		<b>94</b>		<b>56</b>	
Under 10.....	63	.....	1	.....	51	.....	11	
10-19.....	28	.....	6	.....	18	.....	4	
20-29 (1 mo).....	29	20.4	12	4.3	10	84.0	7	
30-39.....	61	.....	55	.....	4	.....	2	
40-49.....	65	.....	51	.....	2	.....	2	
50-59 (2 mo).....	47	49.9	44	41.0	2	92.6	1	
60-69.....	44	.....	36	.....		.....	8	
70-79.....	33	.....	29	.....	1	.....	3	
80-89 (3 mo).....	37	69.3	33	63.4		.....	4	
90-99.....	29	.....	27	.....		.....	2	
100-109.....	23	.....	21	.....	1	.....	1	
110-119 (4 mo).....	27	82.8	24	79.8	1	.....	2	
120-129.....	8	.....	8	.....		.....		
130-139.....	5	.....	3	.....		.....	2	
140-149 (5 mo).....	8	86.3	8	84.2		.....		
150-159.....	7	.....	3	.....		.....	4	
160-169.....	14	.....	12	.....		.....	2	
170-179 (6 mo).....	10	91.7	10	89.9		.....		
180-189.....	5	.....	4	.....	1	.....		
190-199.....	3	.....	3	.....		.....		
200-224.....	9	.....	8	.....		.....	1	
225-249.....	8	.....	7	.....	1	.....		
250-274.....	1	.....	1	.....		.....		
275-299.....	3	.....	3	.....		.....		
300-324.....	2	.....	2	.....		.....		
325-349.....	7	.....	7	.....		.....		
350-374.....	4	.....	4	.....	1	.....		
375-399.....	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....		
400-424.....		.....		.....		.....		
425-449.....	2	.....	2	.....		.....		
450-474.....		.....		.....		.....		
475-499.....	1	.....	1	.....		.....		
500 and over.....	1	.....	1	.....		.....		
Not Reported.....	1	.....		.....	1	.....		

(a) Includes time elapsing between date of indictment and trial, or in the case of persons indicted before received in jail, time elapsing between date of entrance and date of trial.

(b) Includes time from date of entrance to jail to date of discharge by court disposition.

\*Tabulated from County Jail Register.

\*\*The following persons in Jail on December 1, 1920 are not included in this table:

Those awaiting trial and sentences to jail.....	101
Those who gave bail before trial.....	91
Those awaiting action G.J. no bill.....	17
Those held for safe keeping for parole agent.....	3
Charge-Writ ne exeat-Circuit Court discharge.....	1
Still in jail on December 1, 1921.....	8

220

TABLE A-13

**NUMBER OF DAYS AWAITING ACTION OF GRAND JURY FOR PERSONS IN  
THE COUNTY JAIL ON DECEMBER 1, 1920 (a)\***

NUMBER OF DAYS AWAITING ACTION	PERSONS AWAITING ACTION OF GRAND JURY					
	TOTAL		INDICTMENT VOTED		NO BILL	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
TOTAL	489	100.0	472	100.0	17	99.8
Under 5.....	11	2.3	11	2.3	.....	.....
5- 9.....	40	8.2	40	8.5	.....	.....
10-14.....	133	27.2	132	28.0	1	5.9
15-19.....	96	19.6	91	19.3	5	29.4
20-24.....	86	17.6	84	17.8	2	11.7
25-29.....	47	9.6	47	10.0	.....	.....
30-39.....	44	9.0	42	8.9	2	11.7
40-49.....	19	3.9	17	3.6	2	11.7
50-59.....	2	0.4	1	0.2	1	5.9
60-69.....	4	0.8	3	0.6	1	5.9
70-79.....	2	0.4	1	0.2	1	5.9
80-89.....	1	0.2	1	0.2	.....	.....
90-99.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
100 and over.....	4	0.8	2	0.4	2	11.7

(a) Persons in the County Jail on December 1, 1920 not included in this table:

Those indicted before received in jail..... 103  
Those not indicted and not awaiting action G. J..... 210

(e.g. awaiting action of M. C., safekeeping, et'c.) Total..... 318

\* Tabulated from County Jail Register.



TABLE A-16

**COOK COUNTY JAIL POPULATION  
PRISONERS UNDER SENTENCE—PRISONERS HELD**

On the First Monday of Certain Months (Opening of Certain Criminal Court Sessions) Tabulated from  
Cook County Jail Monthly Typewritten Reports

	Total Jail Popu- lation	Under Sentence				Held Pending Trial				
		From Criminal and Municipal Courts	At Oak Forest	Debtors	Sen- tenced to Other Insti- tutions	For Action Grand Jury	For Trial in Criminal Court (indicted)	For Trial in Federal Courts	For Action Municipal Court	Writs Habeas Corpus
March 8, 1922 . . .	906	64	1	3	30	81	544	33	150	.....
Dec. 5, 1921 . . . . .	938	53	6	.....	.....	112	600	26	111	.....
June 6, 1921 . . . . .	709	72	25	.....	.....	59	435	26	92	.....
Dec. 6, 1920 . . . . .	785	77	14	3	.....	108	413	61	109	.....
June 7, 1920 . . . . .	578	70	20	.....	.....	46	342	36	64	.....
Dec. 1, 1919 . . . . .	607	76	25	1	32	86	25	89	63	.....
June 2, 1919 . . . . .	653	64	17	3	9	10	334	80	88	.....
Dec. 2, 1918 . . . . .	486	51	15	.....	16	49	188	92	75	.....
June 3, 1918 . . . . .	683	91	.....	3	18	40	250	202	99	.....
Dec. 3, 1917 . . . . .	777	79	.....	.....	18	101	207	119	153	.....
June 4, 1917 . . . . .	679	47	.....	2	36	91	305	19	179	.....
Dec. 4, 1916 . . . . .	657	52	.....	2	21	100	100	23	159	.....
June 5, 1916 . . . . .	439	50	.....	2	21	66	113	21	96	.....
Dec. 6, 1915 . . . . .	520	61	.....	.....	37	42	225	33	120	2
June 7, 1915 . . . . .	624	65	.....	2	19	77	319	38	100	4
Dec. 7, 1914 . . . . .	725	57	.....	3	36	155	260	37	177	.....
June 1, 1914 . . . . .	580	56	..	2	30	117	238	19	118	.....

TABLE A-17

PERSONS RELEASED BEFORE TRIAL, OF THE 807 PERSONS PRESENT IN THE JAIL DECEMBER 1, 1920, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF DAYS AFTER INDICTMENT UNTIL RELEASE AND BY METHOD OF RELEASE\*

Number of Days in Jail After Indictment Before Release Pending Trial	Persons Released Before Trial					
	Total		Bail Given		Own Recognizance	Super-Sedeas Bond
	Number	Per Cent	Criminal Court	Municipal Court		
Total .....	90	100.0	50	31	6	3
Under 5 .....	23	25.6	8	15	....	....
5- 9 .....	17	18.9	5	11	....	1
10- 19 .....	14	15.6	9	5	....	....
20- 29 .....	6	6.7	5	....	1	....
30- 39 .....	7	7.8	5	....	2	....
40- 49 .....	2	2.2	1	....	1	....
50- 59 .....	3	3.3	1	....	2	....
60- 69 .....	....	....	....	....	....	....
70- 79 .....	5	5.6	5	....	....	....
80- 89 .....	1	1.1	1	....	....	....
90- 99 .....	1	1.1	1	....	....	....
100-149 .....	4	4.4	4	....	....	....
150-199 .....	2	2.2	2	....	....	....
200-299 .....	3	3.3	2	....	....	1
300-399 .....	1	1.1	1	....	....	....
400-499 .....	....	....	....	....	....	....
500 and over .....	1	1.1	....	....	....	....

\*Tabulated from County Jail Register.

**TABLE A-18**  
**COOK COUNTY JAIL POPULATION PRISONERS UNDER JAIL SENTENCE**  
**1914 TO 1921**

Year	Total Jail Population*	Under Sentence	
		From Criminal Court**	From Municipal Court***
1914	9657	105	233
1915	.....	160	155
1916	9020	106	96
1917	.....	160	88
1918	.....	167	143
1919	8618	171	155
1920	8759	237	106
1921	10642	169	121

\*Figures are taken from the yearly summaries of the County Jail Annual Reports. For the years 1915, 1917, 1918, these are missing.

\*\* Tabulated from monthly reports of Chief Clerk of Criminal Court.

\*\*\* Figures represent the number of cases "Disposed of" by the Municipal Court, by sentence to County Jail. (Tabulated from Municipal Court Reports, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th. Figure for 1921 furnished by Clerk of Criminal Records, Municipal Court).



COOK COUNTY JAIL POPULATION  
(Compiled from

	1914				1916			
	Total	Men	Boys	Women	Total	Men	Boys	Women
Total No. in Jail . . . . .	9557	6902	1579	(a) 626	9020	(a) 6761	1529	(a) 730
Total . . . . .	7973	6407	703	(a) 863	8861	(a) 6910	791	(a) 1160
Skin Disease . . . . .	10	9	0	1	5	5	0	
Syphilis . . . . .	165	145	10	10	89	84	5	
Gonorrhea . . . . .	205	158	31	16	144	100	32	
Tuberculosis . . . . .	508	381	62	65	493	377	92	
Heart Affected . . . . .	1397	1144	87	166	2714	2129	202	383
Lungs Affected . . . . .	2725	2166	263	296	2556	1989	219	348
General Condition Affected . . . . .	2958	2401	250	307	2860	2226	241	393
Mentally Deficient . . . . .	5	3	0	2				

\* Reports for 1915, 1917, and 1918 are not available.  
(a) These Figures are copied from Annual Jail Reports. Either classifications are inconsistent or, some



**TABLE A-9. JAIL DISPOSITIONS OF THE 807 PERSONS HELD IN THE COUNTY JAIL ON DECEMBER 1, 1921**  
**BY NUMBER OF DAYS IN JAIL**

DISPOSITIONS	TOTAL NUMBER OF DAYS IN JAIL																	
	Total		Under 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-79	80-99	100-149	150-199	200-299	300-399	400	Still In*	N. R.
	Per Cent	Number																
TOTAL.....	100.0	807	42	59	21	23	34	31	96	118	68	131	66	50	43	16	3	6
Discharged Without Trial (c).....	10.5	85																
No Bill, Grand Jury.....		17			1	5	2	2	3	2			2					
Nolle-Prossed, C. C.....		14							2	4	1	4	2	1				
Stricken off C. C. Calendar.....		46							8	4	8	12	6	8				
Discharged on Order Circuit Court.....		3					1	1				1						
Discharged on Order Superior Court.....		2										1	1					
Dismissed for Want of Prosecution.....		3					1		1					1				
Brought to Trial and Found Not Guilty (c).....	6.9	56																
Not Guilty C. C.....		51			1	1		2	10	12	8	16	3	1	1	1		
Brought to Trial and Convicted (c).....	50.1	404																
Executed.....		8																
Placed on Probation.....		49					1	7	22	11	2	4	1	1		4		
Sentenced to County Jail.....		95		1		1	3	2	1	2	4	11	19	15	27	9		
Escaped from Jail.....		1														1		
Escaped from Oak Forest.....		2																
House of Correction.....		86		1			1	2	13	26	10	24	4	3	2			
Joliet Penitentiary.....		92					1	2	4	23	17	26	11	7	1			
Pontiac Reformatory.....		65						2	15	17	8	13	7	3				
Chester.....		2					1					1						
Elgin.....		1										1						
Kankakee.....		2										1	1					
Lincoln.....		1							1									
Transferred (c).....	8.6	69																
Delivered to Immigration Inspector.....		2	1						1	1			1		2			
Delivered to Parole Agent.....		9	1				1				2			1				
Delivered to U. S. Marshall.....		57	6	4	1	3	7	2	3	10	6	6	3					
Transferred to W (a).....		1		1														
No Final Disposition in Jail Records (b) (c).....	23.9	193																
Not Returned from M. C.....		91	13	36	10	8	10	3	3	1		3	1		2			1
Bail Given M. C.....		31	15	11	3	2												
Bail Given C. C.....		50	6	3	5	3	5	4	7	3	2	7	1	3	1			
Released on Own Recognizance.....		6						2	2	2								
Released on Supersedeas Bond.....		3		1										1			1	
Relator Discharged.....		2															3	
Still Incarcerated*.....		3																
No Report.....		7		1														5

(c) Final Disposition of the 807 Prisoners Held in the County Jail December 1, 1920. Including the Dispositions of Table A-10. as Noted in Foot-Note (b).

\* Still in Jail April, 1922.

(a) Reference to Police Department records disclosed the fact that this man was "sent to Joliet." "Transferred to W" merely indicates a mistake in alphabetical paging of records, in this case from the "m's" to the "W's."

(b) Further investigation of these 193 cases showed 54 discharged without trial, 66 brought to trial and found not guilty, 60 brought to trial and convicted, and for 13 no sentence is recorded. See Table A-10.

DISPOSITION	Prisoners in County Jail	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Discharged without trial	139	17.2
Brought to trial and found not guilty	122	15.1
Brought to trial and convicted	164	57.5
Transferred	69	8.6
No Sentence recorded	13	1.6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>807</b>	<b>100.0</b>



**TABLE A-14**  
**PHYSICAL RECORD 1914, 1916, 1920, 1921\***  
 (County Jail Annual Reports)

Year	1919				1920				1921			
	Total	Men	Boys	Women	Total	Men	Boys	Women	Total	Men	Boys	Women
1914	8618	5967	2111	540	8759	6299	2036	424	10642	8019	2145	478
1916	5506	4320	815	371	4960	4017	596	346	5428	4451	628	349
1920	19	14	5	0	72	49	8	15	76	66	10	0
1921	86	75	5	6	124	75	42	25	152	134	12	6
1922	286	208	45	33	283	181	74	28	301	212	74	15
1923	120	104	9	7	127	110	10	7	70	47	10	13
1924	1669	1392	167	110	1465	1229	158	77	1703	1384	218	101
1925	1142	832	248	62	1018	817	127	74	1338	1129	117	92
1926	2184	1695	336	153	1871	1574	177	120	1788	1479	187	122

\*Prisoners are counted more than once.



**TABLE A-14**  
**COOK COUNTY JAIL POPULATION PHYSICAL RECORD 1914, 1916, 1920, 1921\***  
 (Compiled from County Jail Annual Reports)

	1914				1916				1919				1920				1921			
	Total	Men	Boys	Women	Total	Men	Boys	Women	Total	Men	Boys	Women	Total	Men	Boys	Women	Total	Men	Boys	Women
Total No. in Jail .....	9557	6902	1579	(a) 626	9020	(a) 6761	1529	(a) 730	8618	5967	2111	540	8759	6299	2036	424	10642	8019	2145	478
Total .....	7973	6407	703	(a) 863	8861	(a) 6910	791	(a) 1160	5506	4320	815	371	4960	4017	596	346	5428	4451	628	349
Skin Disease.....	10	9	0	1	5	5	0	0	19	14	5	0	72	49	8	15	76	66	10	0
Syphilis .....	165	145	10	10	89	84	5	0	86	75	5	6	124	75	42	25	152	134	12	6
Gonorrhea.....	205	158	31	16	144	100	32	12	286	208	45	33	283	181	74	28	301	212	74	15
Tuberculosis.....	508	381	62	65	493	377	92	24	120	104	9	7	127	110	10	7	70	47	10	13
Heart Affected.....	1397	1144	87	166	2714	2129	202	383	1669	1392	167	110	1465	1229	158	77	1703	1384	218	101
Lungs Affected.....	2725	2166	263	296	2556	1989	219	348	1142	832	248	62	1018	817	127	74	1338	1129	117	92
General Condition Affected.....	2958	2401	250	307	2860	2226	241	393	2184	1695	336	153	1871	1574	177	120	1788	1479	187	122
Mentally Deficient.....	5	3	0	2																

\* Reports for 1915, 1917, and 1918 are not available.

(a) These figures are copied from Annual Jail Reports. Either classifications are inconsistent or, some prisoners are counted more than once.



TABLE A-15  
COUNTY JAIL SENTENCES CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE 1913 TO 1920

CHARGE	YEAR							
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Total Felonies (a).....	121	149	129	83	332	271	184	322
Arson.....			1					
Burglary.....	20	15	24	14	33	16	35	36
Burglary attempted.....			4	3	4	3	2	3
Confidence Game.....	12	7	3	2	3	9	15	8
Conspiracy.....				1	1			
Contributing to Delinquency of Child.....		2						
Crime Against Children.....	3			1	3	3		
Embezzlement and Larceny by.....	2	1	1		4		1	4
Forgery.....			1		1		2	
Larceny and Larceny by Bailee.....	48	101	61	38	228	199	87	210
Larceny, Accessory to.....		1						
Larceny Attempted.....			1		2		1	1
Larceny by Pickpockets.....								1
Larceny by Automobiles.....							3	9
Malicious Mischief.....	3	4	3			2	4	1
Murder.....							1	
Murder Attempted.....				3	6		5	5
Murder Assault to Commit.....	7	2	3			1		
Mayhem.....	1			1				
Pandering.....			1			1	1	
Rape.....		1	1			1	7	1
Rape, Assault to Commit.....							2	
Receiving Stolen Property.....	14	9	8	6	19	23	9	28
Robbery.....	11	6	13	10	22	11	9	10
Robbery, Attempted.....				1	2		2	5
Robbery, Assault to Commit.....			3					
Other Felonies.....			1	3	4			

	YEAR							
	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Total Felonies and Misdemeanors.....	152	224	178	105	380	296	221	370
Total Misdemeanors (b).....	31	75	49	22	48	25	37	48
Abandonment or Non-Support of Wife or Children.....	1	1	2		2	1		4
Adultery and Fornication.....	3	35	27	8	5	4	1	7
Assault with Deadly Weapon.....	10	14	3	2	11	7	7	6
Auto Operator Intoxicated.....								3
Bastardy.....		2	1	2	9		2	2
Carrying Concealed Fire Arms.....							10	11
Carrying Other Concealed Weapons.....							6	
Contributing to Delinquency of Children.....					3	1	1	3
Cruelty to Children.....				1				
Disorderly Conduct.....								1
Disorderly House, Inmate.....						1		
Driving Away Horse, etc.....					1			
House of Ill Fame, Kate Adams Law.....				1				
Intimidation.....			1					
Obtaining Money or Goods, False Pretense.....	4	13	4	1	8	4	4	5
Resisting an Officer.....			2		1	1		1
Search and Seizure Law.....							1	2
Selling Liquor to Minors or Drunk.....			1	2	1			
Use of Motor Vehicle Without Owner's Consent.....	1	1		1	2	1	1	
Vagrancy.....						3	2	
Other Misdemeanors.....	12	9	8	4	5	2	2	3

(a) From Tables of "Classifications of Convictions in the Municipal and Criminal Courts," Annual Reports, Police Dept., of Chicago, as follows: 1920, p. 23; 1919, p. 19; 1918, p. 19; 1917, p. 19; 1916, p. 19; 1915, p. 10; 1914, p. 10; 1913, p. 10.

(b) From Tables of "Classifications of Convictions in the Municipal Court," Annual Reports, Police Dept., of Chicago, as follows: 1920, p. 24; 1919, p. 20; 1918, p. 20; 1917, p. 20; 1916, p. 20; 1915, p. 10; 1914, p. 10; 1913, p. 10.

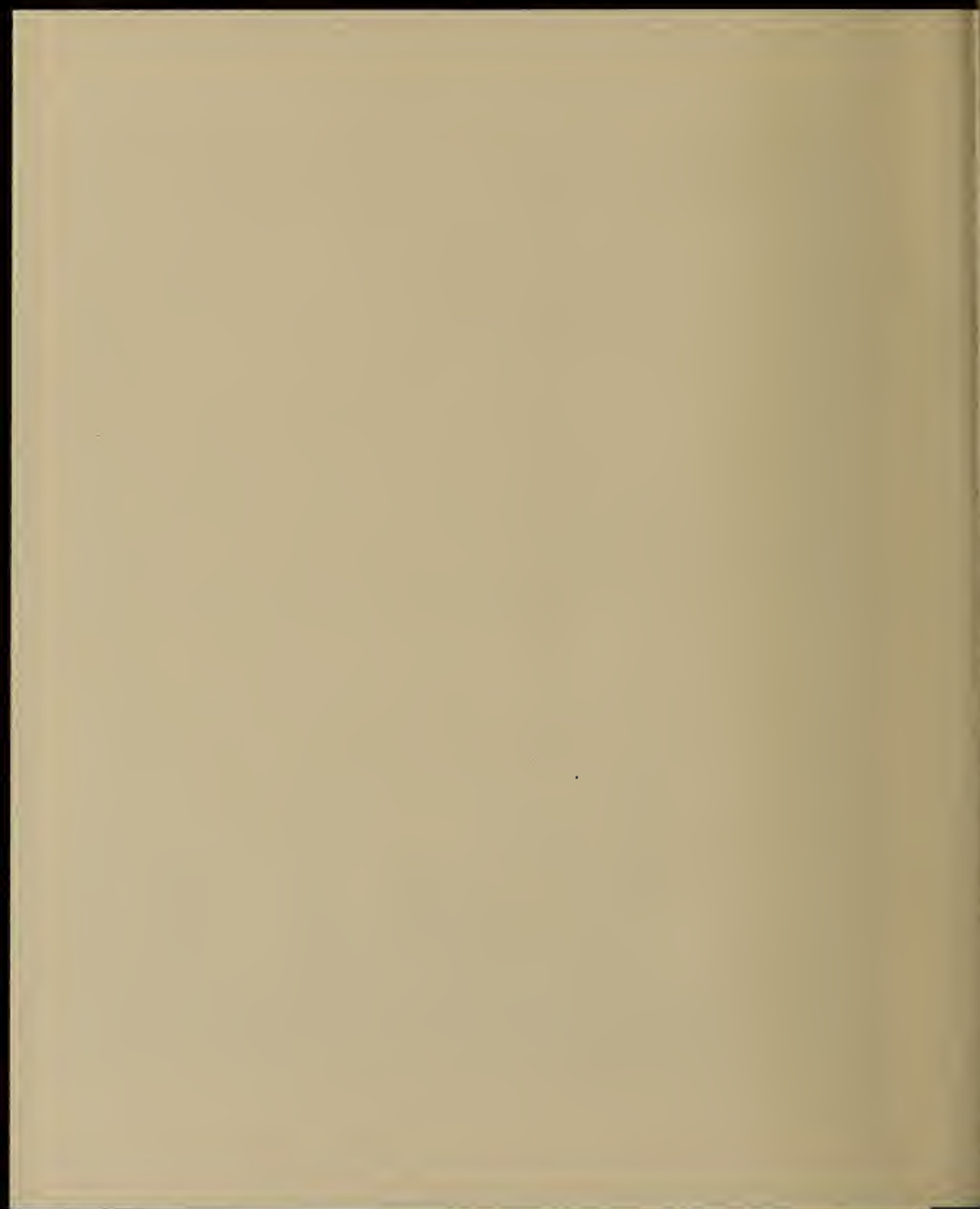


TABLE A-19

**PRISONERS SENTENCED TO COUNTY JAIL BY CRIMINAL COURT  
JANUARY 1914 TO MAY 1922 INCLUSIVE**

Tabulated from Monthly Reports (typewritten) of Chief Clerk, Criminal Court

MONTH	YEAR								
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Total.....	105	160	106	160	167	171	237	169	...
January.....	9	5	16	14	14	9	28	17	17
February.....	12	5	10	3	21	17	27	11	9
March.....	6	23	5	12	17	18	31	25	9
April.....	8	29	10	12	19	10	16	36	8
May.....	7	16	8	11	18	10	17	22	30
June.....	9	2	8	24	14	13	37	16	..
July.....	5	4	11	23	21	11	8	11	..
August.....	7	3	4	13	7	3	3	4	..
September.....	6	12	1	3	8	20	11	6	..
October.....	12	11	10	18	9	14	16	9	..
November.....	6	8	7	9	10	21	32	6	..
December.....	18	42	16	18	9	25	11	6	..



# Statistical Tables

REFERRED TO

— IN —

Mrs. Rich's Report.

**TABLE B-1**  
**DAILY ARRESTS OF WOMEN IN CHICAGO IN 1921 (a)**  
**By Month**

	Number of days on which the number of women arrested varied from:												
	3-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-54	59	63
<b>Totals</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
January.....	7	11	9	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
February.....	..	..	6	6	5	5	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
March.....	..	..	2	5	10	11	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
April.....	..	..	1	6	5	9	3	2	1	1	1	1	..
May.....	..	1	1	2	3	12	9	2	1	..	..	..	..
June.....	..	..	..	5	7	8	5	3	1	..	..	1	..
July.....	..	..	1	1	2	8	7	6	2	3	1	..	..
August.....	..	..	..	..	1	3	9	7	6	3	1	..	1
September.....	..	..	1	1	5	5	7	6	2	2	1	..	..
October.....	..	..	1	5	9	7	3	2	4	..	..	..	..
November.....	..	..	4	10	8	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
December.....	..	1	4	6	5	8	5	2	..	..	..	..	..

(a) Tabulated, April 1922, from records of Secretary to Superintendent of Police—City of Chicago.

Arrests for violation of traffic ordinances are omitted from this table. Since a Court summons instead of detention is considered sufficient in these cases, they have no relation to the problem of detention.

**TABLE B-2**  
**NUMBER OF WOMEN ARRESTED\* IN CHICAGO**  
**BY MONTH 1921**

	Number of Arrests of Women
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>9750</b>
January.....	303
February.....	644
March.....	754
April.....	868
May.....	879
June.....	869
July.....	1041
August.....	1180
September.....	972
October.....	852
November.....	646
December.....	742

\* Arrests for violation of traffic ordinances are omitted from this table, a court summons instead of detention being considered sufficient in these cases.

TABLE B-3

## TABLE SHOWING RELATION OF CONVICTIONS OF WOMEN TO CHARGES AGAINST WOMEN

Chicago 1914-1921 (a)

Year	Number of Charges Against Women	Number of Convictions of Women in Municipal and Criminal Courts	Per cent Convictions of Women to Charges Against Women
1914	14821	7210	48.6
1915	15026	6880	45.1
1916	11600	3727	32.1
1917	14076	4727	33.6
1918	10657	3248	30.5
1919	8701	(c)	(d)
1920	7696	2345	30.5
1921	10857(b)	3551(b)	23.4

(a) Figures from Annual Reports Police Department of Chicago as follows: 1914 pp. 8, 9; 1915 pp. 8, 9; 1916 pp. 17, 18; 1917 pp. 17, 18; 1918 pp. 17, 18; 1919 pp. 15, 19, 20; 1920 pp. 17, 21. Since several charges are frequently placed against one individual, the number of charges against women is considerably larger than the number of women arrested.

(b) Figures from unpublished records in office of Secretary to Chief of Police.

(c) Annual Report of Police Department for 1919 does not record the number of convictions of women in court.

(d) The total number of charges in 1919, both sexes, was 96676 (p. 26 of 1919 Police Department Annual Report); the total number of convictions in the Municipal and Criminal Courts (pp. 19, 20) was 32461, a percentage of 33.6 convictions to charges.



TABLE B-5

## NUMBER OF DAYS IN THE COUNTY JAIL BY FINAL DISPOSITION OF CASE; WOMEN IN JAIL ON DECEMBER 1, 1920

Disposition	Number of Days in the County Jail													
	Total	1	7	11-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-79	80-99	100-149	150-199	258	367
Total.....	31	4	1	3	2	3	1	5	3	2	2	3	1	1
Bail given C. C. . .	4	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bail given M. C. . .	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delivered to U. S. Marshall.....	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
No bill Grand Jury	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Not guilty C. C. . .	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Not returned M. C. ....	3	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Probation.....	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sentenced to jail..	6(a)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2	1	1
Sentenced to H. of C. ....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Sentenced to Penitentiary.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sentenced to Reformatory.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..

(a) Includes length of jail sentence.

**TABLE B-7**  
**NUMBER OF WOMEN ARRESTED IN CHICAGO**  
**BY AGE**

1914 to 1921 inclusive (a)

AGE	1914		1915		1916		1917		1918		1919		1920		1921	
	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent
Total .....	14415	100.0	14671	100.0	11280	100.0	13685	100.0	10396	100.0	8469	100.0	7467	100.0	10555	100.0
Under 16 years of age .....	4	(b)	1	(b)	2	(b)	3	(b)	....	....	2	(b)	4	(b)	6	0.1
16 to 20 years, inclusive .....	969	6.7	1183	8.1	810	7.3	1342	9.8	795	7.7	807	9.5	670	9.0	830	7.9
21 to 25 years, inclusive .....	4495	31.2	4554	31.0	2915	25.8	3694	27.0	2304	22.2	2049	24.2	1877	25.1	2873	27.2
26 to 30 years, inclusive .....	3563	24.7	3425	23.3	2550	22.6	3007	22.0	2267	21.8	1869	22.1	1700	22.8	2425	23.0
31 to 35 years, inclusive .....	3415	23.7	3440	23.5	3000	26.6	3465	25.3	3079	29.6	1273	15.0	1125	15.1	1555	14.7
36 to 40 years, inclusive .....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1037	12.3	918	12.3	1348	12.8
41 to 45 years, inclusive .....	1447	10.1	1505	10.3	1446	12.8	1546	11.3	1396	13.4	562	6.5	502	6.7	655	6.2
46 to 50 years, inclusive .....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	431	5.1	352	4.7	423	4.0
51 to 55 years, inclusive .....	420	2.9	427	2.9	436	3.8	506	3.7	438	4.3	211	2.5	143	1.9	224	2.1
56 to 60 years, inclusive .....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	147	1.8	111	1.5	122	1.1
Over 60 years of age .....	102	0.7	136	0.9	121	1.1	192	0.9	107	1.0	81	1.0	65	0.9	94	0.9

(a) Figures from Annual Reports of Police Department of Chicago as follows: 1920, p. 16; 1919, p. 22; 1918, p. 21; 1917, p. 21; 1916, p. 21; 1915, p. 13; 1914, p. 11. Figures for 1921 from unpublished report furnished by Secretary to Superintendent of Police.

(b) Less than one-tenth of one percent.

**TABLE B-9**  
**NUMBER OF DAYS OF EACH MONTH ON WHICH SPECIFIED**  
**NUMBERS OF GIRLS 18 TO 21 YEARS OF AGE WERE ARRESTED**  
**CHICAGO 1921\***

	Number of Arrests of Girls 18 to 21 Years of Age											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Total.....	24	52	76	68	60	30	22	14	12	3	3	1
January.....	10	3	7	6	3	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
February.....	..	5	7	2	3	3	3	2	2	1	..	..
March.....	2	4	8	6	6	3	1	1	..	..	..	..
April.....	1	3	5	7	8	2	1	..	2	..	1	..
May.....	1	4	7	8	5	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
June.....	..	8	4	2	6	3	3	3	1	..	..	..
July.....	1	6	5	5	9	1	3	1	..	..	..	..
August.....	1	2	6	7	5	2	2	2	3	1	..	..
September.....	3	3	7	3	5	4	2	1	..	..	1	1
October.....	1	6	5	6	4	1	2	3	2	1	..	..
November.....	3	3	11	5	2	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
December.....	1	5	4	11	4	3	1	1	1	..	..	..

\*Tabulated from records of Secretary to Superintendent of Police, City of Chicago.



**TABLE B-8**  
**GIRLS UNDER 18 YEARS ARRESTED IN CHICAGO**  
**BY MONTHS**  
**1921\***

	Total	Age of Girls Arrested			
		14 years	15 years	16 years	17 years
Total .....	53	1	5	12	35
January .....	2	..	..	..	2
February .....	5	1	..	1	3
March .....	5	..	1	1	3
April .....	2	..	..	..	2
May .....	..	..	..	..	..
June .....	5	..	..	2	3
July .....	4	..	..	..	4
August .....	11	..	3	3	5
September .....	11	..	..	2	9
October .....	4	..	1	1	2
November .....	3	..	..	1	2
December .....	1	..	..	1	..

\*Tabulated from individual record cards in office of Secretary to Chief of Police.

TABLE B-6  
WOMEN IN THE COUNTY JAIL CLASSIFIED BY AGE GROUPS  
1914, (a) 1916, (b) 1919, (b) 1920

Age Groups	1914				1916					
	Total		White Women	Colored Women	Total		White Women	Colored Women	Total	
	Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent
Total.....	635	100.0	486	149	730	100.0	546	184	540	100.0
Under 21 years.....	114	17.9	99	15	80	11.0	66	14	86	16.0
21 to 30 years.....	284	44.7	202	82	328	45.0	216	112	268	49.0
31 to 40 years.....	143	22.6	101	42	171	23.4	139	32	120	22.5
41 to 50 years.....	68	10.7	60	8	122	16.7	99	23	46	8.5
Over 50 years.....	26	4.1	24	2	29	3.9	26	3	20	3.5

(a) Taken from table "Statistics Cook County Jail" in the Institutional Quarterly of March 31.  
(b) Taken from Jailer's Annual Report. (Typewritten.) Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918





TABLE B-1

## NUMBER OF WOMEN IN THE COUNTY JAIL BY CAUSE AT OPENING OF CRIMINAL COURT SESSIONS

December 6, 1919 to April 5, 1922 (a)

	Apr. 3, 1922	Mar. 6, 1922	Feb. 6, 1922	Jan. 2, 1922	Dec. 5, 1921	Nov. 8, 1921	Oct. 3, 1921	Sept. 6, 1921	Aug. 1, 1921	July 6, 1921	June 11, 1921	May 3, 1921	Apr. 4, 1921	Mar. 7, 1921	Feb. 7, 1921	Jan. 3, 1921	Dec. 6, 1920	Nov. 1, 1920	Oct. 4, 1920	Sept. 6, 1920	Aug. 2, 1920	July 5, 1920	June 7, 1920	May 3, 1920	Apr. 9, 1920	Mar. 1, 1920	Feb. 2, 1920	Jan. 5, 1920	Dec. 6, 1919
Total in Jail . . .	32	34	27	29	29	27	25	21	16	19	18	16	18	14	21	20	23	9	9	10	14	20	20	19	18	15	16	12	14
Awaiting Trial on Indictment .	21	20	11	18	17	13	8	9	5	9	7	3	5	4	10	9	6	3	6	5	6	12	11	11	11	6	7	4	6
Awaiting action Grand Jury . . .	4	3	5	2	3	2	6	6	1	1	3	4	3	3	2	1	6	2	1	1	0	1	5	0	2	1	3	3	2
Awaiting action Municipal Ct . .	6	8	8	9	7	11	8	5	6	6	5	5	5	4	4	5	6	4	1	3	5	4	2	5	3	6	5	3	4
Total held pend- ing Ct. action . .	31	31	24	29	27	26	22	20	12	16	15	12	13	11	16	15	18	9	8	9	11	17	18	16	16	13	15	10	12
Serving Jail Sen- tence . . . . .	1	3	3	0	2	1	3	1	4	3	3	4	5	3	5	5	5	0	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	2	1	2	2

(a) From County Jail Monthly Report.

# ED BY AGE AND COLOR

(b) 1921, (b)

1919			1920				1921			
nt	White	Colored	Total		White	Colored	Total		White	Colored
	Women	Women	Number	Per cent	Women	Women	Number	Per cent	Women	Women
	380	160	424	100.0	344	80	477	100.0	337	140
	67	19	83	19.6	72	11	71	14.9	54	17
	181	87	228	53.8	177	51	249	52.2	172	77
	84	36	68	16.0	59	9	108	22.6	73	35
	36	10	29	6.8	23	6	38	8.0	28	10
	12	8	16	3.8	13	3	11	2.3	10	1

1916, page 46.  
are not available.

TABLE B-20

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF WOMEN CONVICTED OF FELONIES IN  
MUNICIPAL AND CRIMINAL COURTS BY OFFENSE  
CHICAGO 1920\*

FELONIES														TOTAL	Abndmt. or Non-Sup. of Wife or Children						Adultery and Fornication	Assault	Assault and Battery	Assault with Deadly Weapon	Carrying Concealed Fire Arms
Crime vs. Child	Embezzlement and Lar. by	Forgery	Kidnapping	Larc. and Larc. by Bailee	Larceny Attempted	Malicious Mischief	Manslaughter	Murder, Assault to Commit	Recv. Stolen Property	Robbery	Threat to Kidnap or Murder	Other Felonies	Abndmt. or Non-Sup. of Wife or Children		Adultery and Fornication	Assault	Assault and Battery	Assault with Deadly Weapon	Carrying Concealed Fire Arms						
0	2	1	2	1	606	1	1	1	3	30	3	2	1	1675	1	38	1	20	35	3					
9	1	1	1	..	330	..	1	..	8	2	1	..	917	1	22	..	3	6	1	..					
..	1	..	1	1	86	1	..	1	2	16	1	..	296	..	8	..	3	13	2	..					
..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	1	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	1	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	32	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	1	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	..	2	4	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	..	..	1	1	2	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	62	..	1	..	3	..	..	1	163	..	6	..	4	4	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	..	..	..	4	4	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					
..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	1	..	..	..					
1	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	1	..	..					



TABLE B-6

## WOMEN IN THE COUNTY JAIL CLASSIFIED BY AGE AND COLOR

1914, (a) 1916, (b) 1919, (b) 1920, (b) 1921, (b)

Age Groups	1914				1916				1919				1920				1921			
	Total		White Women	Colored Women	Total		White Women	Colored Women	Total		White Women	Colored Women	Total		White Women	Colored Women	Total		White Women	Colored Women
	Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent		
Total.....	635	100.0	486	119	730	100.0	546	184	540	100.0	380	160	424	100.0	344	80	477	100.0	337	140
Under 21 years....	114	17.9	99	15	160	11.0	66	14	86	16.0	67	19	83	19.6	72	11	71	14.9	54	17
21 to 30 years....	284	44.7	202	82	328	45.0	216	112	268	49.6	181	87	228	53.8 <sup>b</sup>	177	51	249	52.2	172	77
31 to 40 years....	143	22.6	101	12	171	23.4	139	32	120	22.2	84	36	68	16.0	59	9	108	22.6	73	35
41 to 50 years....	68	10.7	60	8	122	16.7	99	23	46	8.5	36	10	29	6.8	23	6	38	8.0	28	10
Over 50 years....	26	4.1	21	2	19	3.9	26	3	20	3.7	12	8	16	3.8	13	3	11	2.3	10	1

(a) Taken from table "Statistics Cook County Jail" in the Institutional Quarterly of March 31, 1916, page 46.

(b) Taken from Jailer's Annual Report. (Typewritten.) Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918 are not available.

TABLE B-10

## TABLE SHOWING AGE OF WOMEN IN THE COUNTY JAIL, CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE

January, 1921 to December, 1921\*

Charge	Age																						
	Total	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	Over 60	No Report
Total	486	2	25	22	23	31	36	29	23	26	28	13	22	18	14	65	54	19	16	5	2	5	8
Abortion	1																1						
Accessory after the Fact	1						1																
Adultery	6									1		1	1	1		1	1						
Allowing Female under 18 to live in House of Prostitution	1																		1				
Assault and Battery	3												1				2						
Assault to Kill	11				1	2	1	1		2	1					1	2						
Assault to Murder	1																						1
Assault with Deadly Weapon	11					1	1	1		1	2		1				3	1					
Bigamy	3					1	1					1											
Burglary	6						1		1				1			1	1			1			
Burglary, Attempt to Commit	1									1													
Confidence Game	23		1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2		2	2		4	1		1			1	
Conspiracy	1															1							
Conspiracy to Rob	1																1						
Contempt	2																						
Contributing to Delinquency of Child	3															1			1				
Crime Against Child	1																						
Debt	1																						
Delinquency	13			1	1	1				2	1	3		1	2				1				
Disorderly Conduct (a)	4		3	2	3	4	7	2	6	1	4	1	5	4	2	18	11	6	1	3		1	1
Disorderly House, Inmate of (Municipal Ordinance 20.9)	12		1	1	3	2	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	4		1				2
Extortion by Threats	1									1													
Forgery	3	1									1												
Fornication	2					1										1						1	
Harrison Act	4								1		1			1			1						
House of Ill Fame, Inmates of (Municipal Ordinance 20.15)	5				1	1		1		1	1												
House of Ill Fame, Keepers of (Illinois Statutes (57 ch 33)	7		1			1	3				1					1							
House of Ill Fame, Kate Adams Law (Illinois Statutes (57 ch. 38)	3					1											2						
Imprisonment for Non-Payment of Fines (b)	1																1						
Larceny	116		11	12	8	5	8	6	4	8	5	4	2	4	1	15	9	7	3	1	2		1
Malicious Mischief	3																						
Manslaughter	1					1																	
Manslaughter, Accessory to	1																						
Murder	8				1			1	1	1	1						2						
Murder, Accessory to	3																1						
National Prohibition Act	3																2					1	
Obtaining Money or Goods by False Pretense	4		1																				
Obtaining Food and Board by Fraud	1																	2					
Pandering	2																1	1					1
Perjury	3					1								1					1				
Receiving Stolen Property	6			1	1	1				1			1			1							
Refusal to Pay Vehicle Rent	1							1															
Remand	5			1			1				1			1	1								
Revenue Act 1918	2																						
Robbery	19		3	1	1	2	3	2	1	1			1			2	1		1				
Robbery, Accessory to	4		2		1																		
Robbery Attempted	1										1												
Safe-Keeping	10			1			1	1		1					1	2	2		1				
Soliciting for Prostitution	13					3		3	3	2	3		3		1	2	2		1				
Abortion, Disorderly Conduct	1																				1		
Assault to Kill, Carrying Concealed Weapons, Illegal Use of Fire-Arms	1																						
Assault to Kill, Disorderly Conduct	1															1							
Assault to Murder, Larceny	1						1																
Assault with Deadly Weapon, Disorderly Conduct	1																						
Assault with Deadly Weapon, Fornication	1	1												1									
Assault with Deadly Weapon, Larceny	1																						
Attempted Burglary, Gambling, Fraudulent Removal of Warehouse Goods	1		1																				
Attempted Larceny, Larceny, Disorderly Conduct	1																		1				
Burglary, Disorderly Conduct	1																						
Burglary, Receiving Stolen Property	2																						
Confidence Game, Conspiracy	1								1														
Confidence Game, Disorderly Conduct	1																						
Confidence Game, False Pretense	2									1													
Disorderly Conduct, Indecent Exposure	1					1																	
Disorderly Conduct, Disorderly House Inmate of	1																						
Disorderly House, Inmate of, Larceny	4							1		1							1						
Disorderly House, Inmate of, Receiving Stolen Property	1												1										
Larceny, 3 charges under Search and Seizure Act	1																						1
Remand, Safe-Keeping	1		1																				
No Report	13			1	1	1	2				1		2			2	1	1					1

\*Tabulated from the Jailer's Card Record File.

(a) Including one charge of Disorderly conduct under South Park Ordinance 66.

(b) Under South Park Ordinance 78.

TABLE B-20  
TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF WOMEN CONVICTED OF FELONIES AND MISDEMEANORS IN THE  
MUNICIPAL AND CRIMINAL COURTS BY OFFENSE AND NATIVITY  
CHICAGO 1920\*

Nativity	FELONIES															TOTAL	MISDEMEANORS																												
	TOTAL	Abortion	Burglary	Burglary Attempted	Confidence Game	Crime vs. Child	Embezzlement and Lar. by	Forgery	Kidnapping	Larc. and Larc. by Bailor	Larceny Attempted	Malicious Mischief	Manslaughter	Murder, Assault to Commit	Recv. Stolen Property		Robbery	Threat to Kidnap or Murder	Other Felonies	Abdmt. or Non-Sup. of Wife or Children	Adultery and Fornication	Assault	Assault and Battery	Assault with Deadly Weapon	Carrying Concealed Fire Arms	Other Concealed Weapons	Contr. to Delinquency of Child	Cruelty to Animals	Cruelty to Children	Disorderly Conduct	Disorderly House, Inmate of	Gaming House, Inmate of	Gaming House, Keeper of	House of Ill Fame, Inmate of	House of Ill Fame, Keeper of	House of Ill Fame, Kate Adams Law	Intimidation	Obt. Money or Goods Under False Pretence	Peddlers Calling Wares	Resisting an Officer	Soliciting for Prostitution	Vagrancy	Violation of Ordinance Reg. Motor Vehicles	Search and Seizure	Other Misdemeanors
Total .....	670	1	3	2	10	2	1	2	1	606	1	1	1	3	30	3	2	1	1675	1	38	1	20	35	3	1	54	1	1	944	249	7	2	20	4	66	3	13	1	3	56	3	86	9	54
American .....	359	..	3	2	9	1	1	1	..	330	..	1	..	..	8	2	1	..	917	1	22	..	3	6	1	1	33	1	..	491	142	..	..	11	1	55	..	12	1	..	39	1	82	1	22
American (Colored)...	110	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	86	1	..	1	2	16	1	..	..	296	..	8	..	3	13	2	..	6	..	..	138	78	7	1	6	1	3	..	1	..	..	16	..	..	..	3
Austrian .....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	12	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	
Bohemian .....	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	
Canadian .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Danes .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
English .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
French .....	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
German .....	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	24	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Greek .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hebrew .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Hollanders .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hungarian .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Irish .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Italians .....	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	..	2	4	..	..	3	..	..	..	10	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	
Lithuanians .....	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	2	..	..	25	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2		
Norwegians .....	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Polish .....	68	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	62	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	1	163	..	6	..	4	4	..	..	6	..	1	113	4	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	4	3	15		
Roumanian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Russian .....	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	47	..	..	..	4	4	..	..	2	..	..	27	7	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scotch .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	
Slavonian .....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Swedes .....	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Other Nationalities .....	7	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	

\*Figures from Annual Report Police Department, City of Chicago, 1920, p. 21.





## AND MISDEMEANORS IN THE E AND NATIVITY

## MISDEMEANORS

[illegible]

**TABLE B-11**  
**WOMEN IN COOK COUNTY JAIL, CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE**  
**1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921**  
(Compiled from the Jailer's Annual Report\*)

Charge	Year				
	1914	1916	1919	1920	1921
Total .....	654 (a)	725 (b)	530 (c)	421 (d)	446 (e)
Abortion .....	2	..	..	4	..
Accessory to Murder .....	5	..	2	2	3
Accessory to Rape .....	1	..	..	1	..
Adultery .....	19	2	8	4	4
Arson .....	2	..	..	..	1
Assault .....	19	11	1	..	5
Assault and Battery .....	..	..	11	5	6
Assault to Murder .....	10	4	9	7	12
Assault to Rob .....	..	..	..	1	..
Bastardy .....	..	..	1	..	..
Bigamy .....	9	5	1	..	2
Burglary .....	8	4	27	46	8
Confidence Game .....	10	10	7	18	31
Conspiracy .....	7	3	7	5	1
Contempt .....	4	3	2	3	1
Crime against Child .....	1	..	1	..	..
Crime against Nature .....	1	1	..	2	1
Delinquency of child .....	..	22	8	1	3
Delivery of Child .....	10	..	..	..	..
Disposing of Mortgaged Property .....	2	1	..	1	1
Debt .....	1	2	5	..	..
Embezzlement .....	..	1	3	2	1
Forgery .....	1	..	4	4	3
Fornication .....	23	20	6	..	3
Fugitive .....	..	1	1	..	..
Kidnapping .....	..	1	..	..	..
Larceny .....	143	120	179	136	127
Malicious Mischief .....	3	1	3	1	5
Manslaughter .....	1	1	1	3	..
Mayhem .....	2	..	..	..	..
Murder .....	23	32	6	7	3
Murder by Abortion .....	..	..	3	3	..
Obtaining Money or Goods, False Pretence .....	18	9	1	1	2
Pandering .....	1	4	..	4	1
Perjury .....	1	..	1	..	2
Rape .....	..	..	..	1	..
Receiving Stolen Property .....	16	10	21	11	14
Robbery .....	21	13	26	18	20
Safekeeping .....	..	1	..	2	12
Threats .....	1	..	..	..	..
Violation of Parole .....	..	..	..	1	..
Violation U. S. Statutes .....	10	14	14	23	8
Violation Municipal Code .....	275	422	163	100	150
Vagrancy .....	..	1	..	..	..
Violation National Prohibition .....	..	..	..	1	4
Miscellaneous .....	4	7	6	3	12

\*Annual Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918, not available.

(a) Total number received, according to table "age" in report, as published on page 46 of the Institution Quarterly for March 31, 1916, is 635.

(b) "Total number received," according to report, is 730.

(c) "Total number received," according to report, is 540.

(d) "Total number received," according to report, is 424.

(e) "Total number received," according to report, is 478.



**TABLE B-12**  
**TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF WOMEN ARRESTED IN CHICAGO DURING THE YEAR 1920**  
**BY AGE AND CHARGE\***

Felonies	Total	Age										
		Under 16 yr.	16-20 incl.	21-25 incl.	26-30 incl.	31-35 incl.	36-40 incl.	41-45 incl.	46-50 incl.	51-55 incl.	56-60 incl.	Over 60 yrs.
Total .....	1266	..	190	310	285	171	130	71	64	18	15	12
Abandonment of child under 1 year ..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Abortion .....	18	..	..	..	..	5	4	3	3	..	2	1
Arson .....	4	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Bigamy .....	9	..	1	5	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burglary .....	13	..	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	..	1	..
Burglary, Accessory to .....	3	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Burglary Attempted .....	2	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..
Confidence Game .....	37	..	9	9	6	3	3	3	3	..	..	1
Conspiracy .....	6	..	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Crime vs. Child .....	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Embezzlement and Larceny by .....	6	..	..	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Forgery .....	10	..	3	4	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kidnapping .....	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Larceny and Larceny by Bailee ..	930	..	159	239	215	118	87	40	42	12	9	9
Larceny by Pickpocket .....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Larceny of Automobile .....	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Larceny Accessory to .....	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Larceny Attempted .....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Malicious Mischief .....	7	..	..	..	2	2	..	3	..	..	..	..
Manslaughter .....	4	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Murder .....	15	..	1	3	4	1	1	3	1	..	..	1
Murder, Accessory to .....	7	..	..	3	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..
Murder, Assault to Commit ..	19	..	2	3	3	6	2	1	1	1	..	..
Pandering .....	5	..	..	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..
Perjury .....	3	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Rape .....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Receiving Stolen Property .....	92	..	2	16	27	14	14	9	5	3	2	..
Robbery .....	19	..	3	4	4	3	2	..	3	..	..	..
Robbery, Accessory to .....	7	..	1	4	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Robbery, Assault to Commit ..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Threats to Kidnap or Murder ..	6	..	..	1	1	1	1	2	..	..	..	..
Other Felonies .....	29	..	2	3	4	4	9	3	2	1	..	..

Misdemeanors	Total	Age										
		Under 16 yrs.	16-20 incl.	21-25 incl.	26-30 incl.	31-35 incl.	36-40 incl.	41-45 incl.	46-50 incl.	51-55 incl.	56-60 incl.	Over 60 yrs.
Total .....	6201	4	480	1567	1415	954	788	431	288	125	96	53
Abndmt. or Non-Sup. of Children ..	5	..	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Adultery and Fornication .....	139	..	24	47	33	22	9	3	1	..	..	..
Assault .....	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Assault and Battery .....	51	..	3	10	12	9	8	6	3	..	..	..
Assault with Deadly Weapon .....	109	..	5	31	31	14	11	9	5	..	3	..
Carrying Concealed Fire-Arms .....	9	..	..	2	4	1	2	..	..	..	..	..
Other Concealed Weapons .....	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Contrib. to Delinquency of Children	110	..	11	32	26	14	12	9	3	3	..	..
Cruelty to Animals .....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Cruelty to Children .....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Disorderly Conduct .....	3652	2	286	709	803	605	528	315	194	101	70	39
Disorderly House, Inmate of .....	975	..	83	415	238	104	73	26	16	6	10	4
Gaming House, Inmate of .....	12	..	2	2	3	3	1	..	..	..	1	..
Gaming House, Keeper of .....	10	..	..	2	2	4	1	..	1	..	..	..
House of Ill Fame, Inmate of .....	68	..	3	35	16	11	3	..	..	..	..	..
House of Ill Fame, Keeper of .....	26	..	..	2	6	10	2	2	3	..	..	1
House of Ill Fame, Kate Adams Law	238	..	16	100	68	28	14	3	7	2	..	..
Intimidation .....	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Loitering .....	16	..	2	2	4	4	2	2	..	..	..	..
Obt. Money or Goods, False Pre. ...	33	..	3	10	6	4	4	3	2	..	1	..
Opium Den, Inmates or Keepers ..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Peddlers License .....	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Resisting an Officer .....	4	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
Soliciting for Prostitution .....	146	..	6	70	42	13	9	5	1	..	..	..
Vagrancy .....	7	..	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Violation of Traffic Ordinances ..	214	..	14	52	54	38	34	11	6	2	2	1
Search and Seizure Law .....	19	..	1	2	3	..	6	3	3	..	1	..
Other Misdemeanors .....	347	2	18	38	59	64	67	32	42	10	8	7

\*Figures from Annual Report Police Department, Chicago 1920, p. 16.

**TABLE B-13**  
**NUMBER OF TIMES WOMEN IN COUNTY JAIL ADMIT HAVING BEEN ARRESTED**  
**1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921**  
**(Compiled from Jailer's Annual Reports\*)**

Number of arrests admitted	1914		1916		1919		1920		1921	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total.....	533	100.0	730	100.0	540	100.0	144(a)	100.0	479(b)	100.0
1.....	367	68.8	448	61.4	359	66.5	31	21.5	323	67.4
2.....	66	12.4	121	16.6	95	17.6	83	57.6	108	22.6
3 or more.....	100	18.8	161	22.0	86	15.9	30	20.9	48	10.0

\*Annual Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918 are not available.

(a) "Total women" given in yearly summary for 1920 is 424. But there is noted "One Lost Female Record." Other inconsistencies will be noted, in comparing totals of the various classifications.

(b) "Total women" given in yearly summary for 1921 is 478.

TABLE B-14

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF ARRESTS ADMITTED, CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE. WOMEN IN  
THE COUNTY JAIL DURING THE YEAR JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1921

Charge	Total	Number of Arrests Admitted							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	More Than 6	No Report
Total	486	31	108	28	18	3	3	2	7
Abortion	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Accessory After the Fact	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Adultery	6	3	1	..	2	..	..	..	..
Allowing Female Under 18 to Live in House of Prostitution	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault and Battery	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault to Kill	11	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Assault to Murder	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault With Deadly Weapon	11	6	3	..	1	1	..	..	..
Bigamy	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burglary	6	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Burglary, Attempt to Commit	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Confidence Game	23	19	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
Conspiracy	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Conspiracy to Rob	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Contempt	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Contributing to Delinquency of Child	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Crime Against Child	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Debt	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delinquency	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Disorderly Conduct (a)	84	43	25	10	4	..	1	..	1
Disorderly House, Inmate of (Munic. Ord. 1919)	32	18	9	1	1	1	..	..	2
Extortion By Threats	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Forgery	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fornication	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Harrison Act	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
House of Ill Fame, Inmate of (Munic. Ord. 1915)	5	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
House of Ill Fame, Keepers of (Ill. Statutes 57 ch. 38)	7	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
House of Ill Fame, Kate Adams Law (Ill. Statutes 57 Al ch. 38)	3	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Imprisonment for Non-Payment of Fines (b)	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Larceny	116	80	24	8	2	..	1	..	..
Malicious Mischief	3	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Manslaughter	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Manslaughter, Accessory to	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murder	8	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Murder, Accessory to	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
National Prohibition Act	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Obtaining Money or Goods by False Pretense	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Obtaining Food and Board by Fraud	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pandering	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Perjury	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Receiving Stolen Property	6	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Refusal to Pay Vehicle Rent	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Remand	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Revenue Act—1918	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Robbery	19	12	3	1	2	..	..	1	..
Robbery, Accessory to	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Robbery, Attempted	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Safe-Keeping	10	7	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Soliciting for Prostitution	23	8	9	3	1	1	..	1	..
Abortion, Disorderly Conduct	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault to Kill, Carrying Concealed Weapons, Illegal Use of Fire-Arms	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault to Kill, Disorderly Conduct	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault to Murder, Larceny	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault With Deadly Weapon, Disorderly Con- duct	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault With Deadly Weapon, Fornication	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Assault With Deadly Weapon, Larceny	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Attempted Burglary, Gambling, Fraudulent Re- moval of Warehouse Goods	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Attempted Larceny, Larceny, Disorderly Con- duct	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Burglary, Disorderly Conduct	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Burglary, Receiving Stolen Property	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Confidence Game, Conspiracy	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Confidence Game, Disorderly Conduct	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Confidence Game, False Pretense	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Disorderly Conduct, Indecent Exposure	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Disorderly Conduct, Disorderly House, Inmate of	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Disorderly House, Inmate of, Larceny	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Disorderly House, Inmate of, Receiving Stolen Property	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Larceny, 3 Charges Under Search & Seizure Act	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Remand, Safe-Keeping	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
No Report	13	8	4	..	..	..	..	..	1

\* Tabulated from the Jailer's Card Record File.

(a) Including one charge of Disorderly Conduct under South Park Ordinance.

(b) Under South Park Ordinance 78.



TABEL B-15

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER ARRESTS ADMITTED AND AGE. WOMEN IN THE COUNTY JAIL;  
JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1921

Age	Total	Number of Arrests Admitted							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	Over 6	N.R.
Total.....	486	317	108	28	18	3	3	2	7
17	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	25	20	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	22	15	3	3	1	..	..	..	..
20	23	19	3	1	..	..	..	..	..
21	31	22	7	2	..	..	..	..	..
22	36	24	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	29	19	8	1	1	..	..	..	..
24	23	17	3	1	2	..	..	..	..
25	26	19	5	1	1	..	..	..	..
26	28	20	5	2	1	..	..	..	..
27	13	9	3	..	..	1	..	..	..
28	22	11	9	1	1	..	..	..	..
29	18	9	5	2	2	..	..	..	..
30	14	11	1	1	1	..	..	..	..
31-35	65	41	15	8	1	..	..	..	..
36-40	54	33	11	1	3	2	2	2	..
41-45	19	13	3	1	2	..	..	..	..
46-50	16	9	4	2	1	..	..	..	..
51-55	5	2	..	1	1	..	1	..	..
56-60	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Over 60	5	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
N.R.	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	7

TABLE B-16

**PHYSICAL CONDITION OF WOMEN PRISONERS IN COUNTY JAIL 1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921**  
(Compiled From the Jailer's Annual Reports)

Physical Record	Year				
	1914	1916	1919	1920	1921
Total Number in Jail .....	626 (a)	730 (a)	540	424	478
Total .....	863 (a)	1160 (a)	371	346	349
Skin Disease .....	1	...	...	15	...
Syphilis .....	10	...	6	25	6
Gonorrhea .....	16	12	33	28	15
Tuberculosis .....	65	24	7	7	13
Heart Affected .....	168	383	110	77	101
Lungs Affected .....	296	348	62	74	92
Mentally Deficient .....	2	...	...	...	...
General Condition Affected .....	307	393	153	120	122

\* Annual Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918, not available.

(a) These figures are Copied from Annual Jail Reports.  
Classifications are inconsistent. Undoubtedly some prisoners are counted more than once.

TABLE B-17

**"HABITS" OF WOMEN IN THE COOK COUNTY JAIL. 1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921**  
(Compiled From the Jailer's Annual Reports\*)

	1914	1916	1919	1920	1921
Total Number in Jail .....	635 (a)	730	540	424	478
To a .....	467	613	220	110	236
Use tobacco .....	102	147	63	52	119
Use liquor .....	331	447	144	44	62
Use opium .....	10	3	5	...	...
Use Morphine .....	17	16	3	3	13
Use Cocaine .....	4	...	4	4	...
Use other drugs .....	3	...	1	7	42

\* Annual Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918, not available.

(a) This total is taken from the table "Ages" of the annual report as published on page 46 of the Institutional Quarterly for March 31, 1916.

**TABLE B-18**  
**TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF WOMEN ARRESTED IN CHICAGO IN 1921**  
**By Nativity\*\***

Nativity	Arrests	
Total .....	10555	100.0
American.....	6118	58.0
Colored.....	1965	19.1
Austrian.....	89	0.8
Bohemian.....	76	0.7
Canadian.....	16	0.1
Chinese.....	2	*
Danes.....	12	0.1
English.....	29	0.3
French.....	25	0.2
German.....	151	1.4
Greek.....	18	0.2
Hebrew.....	76	0.7
Hollander.....	2	*
Hungarian.....	56	0.5
Irish.....	160	1.5
Italian.....	171	1.6
Lithuanian.....	165	1.5
Norwegian.....	32	0.3
Poles.....	817	7.7
Roumanian.....	14	0.1
Russia.....	308	2.9
Scotch.....	24	0.2
Slavish.....	37	0.3
Swedish.....	72	0.7
Swiss.....	3	*
Others.....	117	1.1

\* Less than one-tenth of one per cent.  
 \*\*Figures furnished by Secretary of Police.



**TABLE B-19**  
**NATIVITY OF WOMEN IN COOK COUNTY JAIL 1914, 1916, 1920, 1921**  
(Compiled from Jailer's Annual Reports\*)

Nativity	1914	1916	1919	1920	1921
Total	540 (a)	725 (b)	541 (c)	424	462 (d)
Armenia	..	..	1	..	1
Austria	8	6	22	..	..
Austrian Jew	1	..	..	..	..
Belgium	..	4	..	3	1
Bohemia	4	9	1	1	1
Brazil	..	1	..	..	2
Bulgaria	5	..	..	..	..
Canada	9	8	5	..	2
China	1	..	1	..	..
Cuba	..	..	..	..	1
Denmark	1	..	2	1	..
England	7	10	4	1	1
Finland	..	..	..	..	1
France	..	4	5	8	5
Germany	29	30	15	..	..
Greece	..	1	2	..	..
Holland	..	1	2	1	..
Hungary	9	3	2	..	..
India	..	..	1	..	..
Ireland	24	36	12	2	7
Italy	7	8	6	4	..
Japan	..	..	..	2	..
Lithuania	9	15	1	2	1
Mexico	3	1	..	1	2
Norway	2	6	3	1	..
Poland	..	23	3	4	7
Poland; Austrian	16	25	..	2	..
Poland; German	3	22	..	..	..
Poland; Russian	26	6	1	5	..
Russia	2	1	21	5	10
Russian Jew	5	5	..	..	1
Roumanian	..	1	..	..	..
Scotland	3	2	4	..	..
Servia	..	2	..	..	..
Spain	1	..	4	..	..
Sweden	8	8	2	2	2
Switzerland	..	..	1	..	..
Turkey	..	1	..	..	..
Wales	..	..	..	..	1
Persia	..	..	1	..	..
Native	357	486	420	379	408

\* Annual Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918 are not available.

- (a) Total number of Women received, according to the table "Ages" in the Institution Quarterly March 31, 1916, p. 46, is 635. Other inconsistencies will be noted, in comparing totals of the various classifications.  
(b) Total number of Women received, according to summary of report, is 730.  
(c) Total number of Women received, according to summary of report, is 540.  
(d) Total number of Women received, according to summary of report, is 478.

TABLE B-21

## RECORD OF EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN THE COUNTY JAIL 1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921

(Compiled from the Jailer's Annual Reports\*)

Record of Education	1914	1916	1919	1920	1921
Total.....	639 (a)	730	540	424	482 (b)
Public School, first to fourth grade.....	97	146	61	54	33
Public School, fifth to eighth grade.....	346	386	402	313	308
High School.....	62	72	28	7	77
College.....	4	9	4	18	17
Illiterate.....	61	60	45	18	42
Catholic Schools.....	65	37	..	14	5
Foreign Schools.....	4	20	..	..	..

\* Annual Reports for years 1915, 1917, and 1918, not available.

(a) But total number of women received, according to the table "Ages" of the report as published on page 46 of the Institution Quarterly for March 31, 1916 is 635.

(b) Total number of women received is 478.

TABLE B-22

## RECORD OF OCCUPATION OF WOMEN IN COUNTY JAIL. 1914, 1916, 1919, 1920, 1921

(Compiled from Jailer's Annual Reports, Typewritten\*)

Occupation	Year				
	1914	1916	1919	1920	1921
Total .....	629 (a)	723 (b)	540	308 (c)	459 (d)
Accountant.....	..	..	1	1	..
Agent, News.....	2	1	..	..	..
Bell Boy.....	..	..	1	..	..
Book Binder.....	7	3	2	..	2
Book Keeper.....	6	2	4	3	5
Box Maker.....	..	..	..	..	1
Candy Maker.....	..	2	..	1	3
Cashier.....	..	..	..	1	3
Chauffeur.....	4	6	9	12	2
Cigar Maker.....	..	..	..	3	1
Clerk.....	7	12	1	3	3
Cook.....	7	12	34	29	15
Domestic.....	262	257	11	4	7
Dyer, Cleaner.....	..	..	2	..	1
Elevator Operator.....	..	..	2	..	..
Engraver.....	..	1	..	..	..
Factory Hand.....	22	45	28	32	7
Farmer, Farm Hand.....	..	1	..	1	1
Florist.....	..	..	2	..	..
Fortune Teller.....	..	1	..	..	..
Furrier.....	..	1	..	..	..
Hair Dresser.....	2	3	..	..	..
House Wife.....	118	176	208	173	194
Inspector.....	..	..	1	3	1
Investigator.....	..	..	2	..	..
Laborer.....	..	..	2	5	3
Laundry Work.....	49	4	20	11	27
Machine Hand.....	..	..	..	..	1
Merchant.....	..	1	..	..	..
Midwife.....	5	8	3	6	..
Milliner.....	2	3	1	4	5
Musician.....	5	12	1	2	3
Nurse.....	3	10	9	6	9
Physician.....	1	4	..	2	..
Railway Conductor.....	..	..	1	..	1
Reporter.....	..	..	..	..	1
Restaurant Proprietor.....	2	..	1	..	1
Rooming House Keeper.....	4	2	1	..	..
Sales Woman.....	3	6	10	..	3
Seamstress.....	38	45	13	..	20
Shoemaker.....	..	..	..	..	1
Stenographer.....	4	8	9	..	7
Tailor.....	5	3	..	..	..
Teacher.....	..	1	1	..	1
Telegraph Operator.....	1	1	1	..	..
Telephone Operator.....	3	5	7	..	5
Theatrical.....	18	8	15	..	8
Waitress.....	30	38	44	..	40
Miscellaneous.....	15	39	18	5	27
No Occupation.....	4	2	1	..	22

\* Annual Reports for years 1915, 1917 and 1918, are not available.

(a) Total number received, according to table "Ages" in the report as published on page 46 of the Institutional Quarterly for March 31, 1916 is 635.

(b) Total number received, according to summary of report, is 730.

(c) Total number received, according to summary of report, is 424.

The absence of entries under letters from R to end of the alphabet seems to indicate that one page of the report may be missing.

(d) Total number received, according to summary of the report, is 478.



RECORD FORMS AS PROPOSED IN REPORT OF MRS. RICH AND MR. BEELEY

Appendix A

PRISONER'S RECORD -- COOK COUNTY JAIL

LEGAL STATUS	CHARGE(S)	COMMITTED BY	BAIL	CONTINUED TO	DISPOSITION OF CHARGES
CONTINU- ANCE (GREEN)					
FULLY COMMITTED (YELLOW) (held to Grand Jury)					
INDICTED (RED)					
SAFE - (PURPLE) KEEPING					
JAIL (BLUE) SENTENCE					
DISCIPL- INE.	CONFINEMENT:				
	TRANSFER:				
	WORKER:				
	DATE				
MEDICAL TREATMENT	DISEASE				
AGE.	COLOR	CELL No.	DISCHARGED		
ALIENS			DATE		
			REASON		
			RECEIVED		
NAME					

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
LARKENY	CITY CODE	BURGLARY	ROBBERY	CON. GAME	ASS. TO MURDER	MURDER	CONSPIRACY	RAPE	NON-SUPPORT	RECEIVING PROP.	BASTARDY	CONTEMPT	CRIME VS CHILDREN	ASS. & BATTERY	MANSLAUGHTER	MAL. MISCHIEF	EMBEZZLEMENT	WILL OTHERS	U.S. STATUTES

AFFIDAVITS

I, \_\_\_\_\_ a prisoner in the Cook County Jail, do hereby authorize the Jailor of said Jail by himself or his authorized representative to receive, open and examine all letters, papers and other mail matter which may be directed to me as long as I am a prisoner in said Jail. Dated at Cook County Jail this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 192 .

I, \_\_\_\_\_ of the Cook County Jail, do hereby certify that the above order was read and fully explained by me to the above named \_\_\_\_\_ before \_\_\_\_\_ he signed the same and that \_\_\_\_\_ he signed the same voluntarily in my presence this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 192 .

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

T. B. 2. SCABIES 3. GONORRHOEA. 4. SYPHILIS

5. CONDITION OF HEART:

6. CONDITION OF LUNGS:

7. USE OF DRUGS, LIQUOR:

TOBACCO

8. SCARS, MARKS, BRUISES, ETC.

9. REMARKS.

SOCIAL HISTORY

1. BIRTHPLACE

FA.

2. YEARS IN U.S.

MO.

3. CITIZENSHIP

WIFE

4. RELIGION

CHILD

5. MARITAL STATE

6. OCCUPATION

7. LAST SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

8th.

8. TIME IN CHICAGO (OR COOK COUNTY)

IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THIS

SIS.

ARREST

9. LAST P.O. ADDRESS

12. PREVIOUS ARRESTS.

DATES

INSTITUTIONS

10. LAST EMPLOYER

NEW PRISONERS RECEIVED

DATE

JAIL POPULATION  
AT MIDNIGHT  
YESTERDAY:

No	NAME	CHARGE(s)	STATUS	BAIL	COMMITTED BY	CELL No.	TIME
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
8.							

JAIL POPULATION MIDN'GHT YESTERDAY:

RECEIVED TO-DAY:

DISCHARGED TODAY:

JAIL POPULATION MID-NIGHT TO-DAY:



# PRISONERS - DISCHARGED

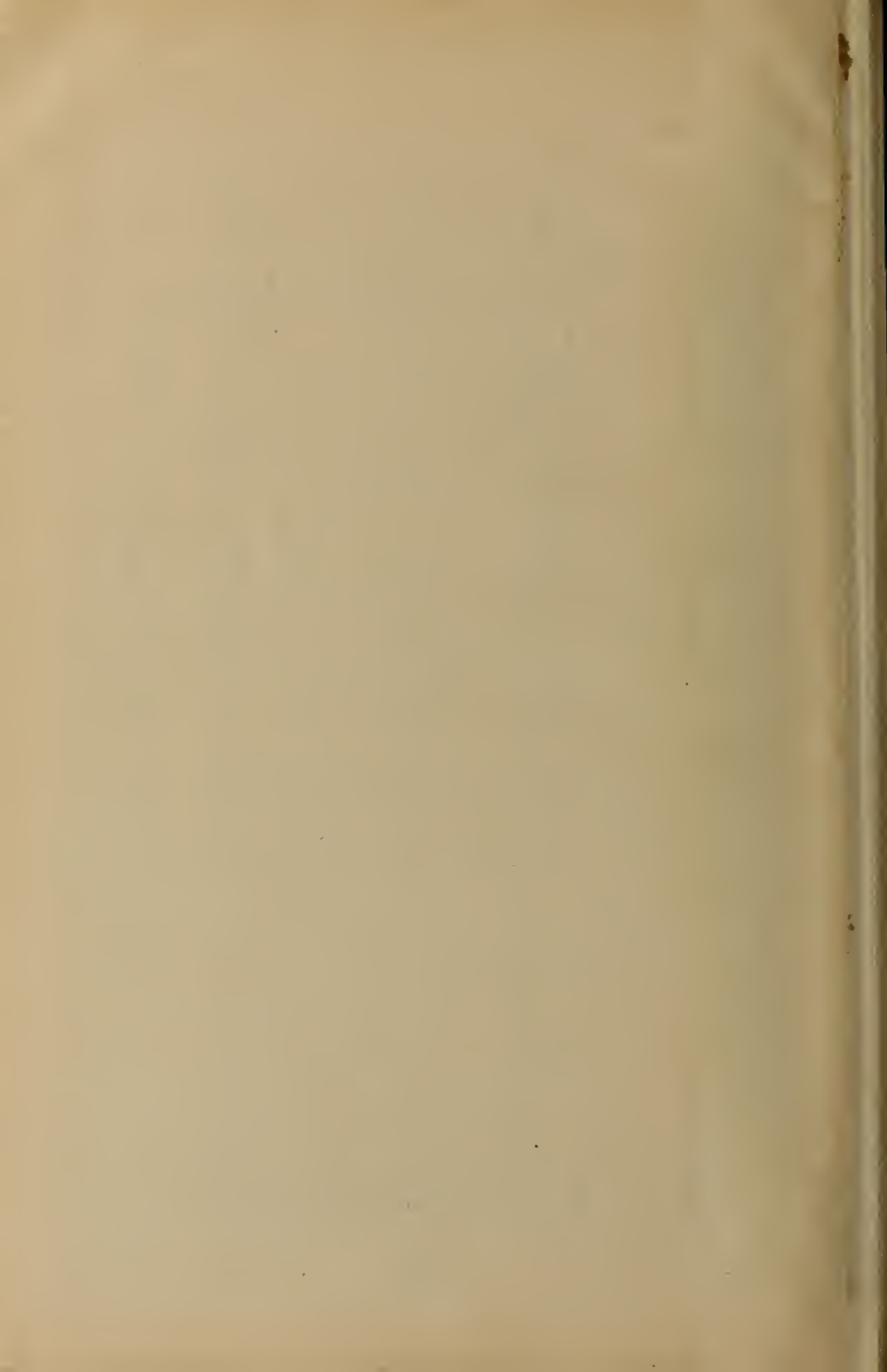
DATE

No.	NAME	CELL No	CHARGE(s)	WHY DISCHARGED	TIME
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					

DAILY RECORD OF CHANGES IN  
LEGAL STATUS OF PRISONERS

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

[illegible]







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